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California JOURNAL

Independent analysis of politics and government

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MAY 1994
VOLUME XXV, NUMBER 5

California JOURNAL

Independent analysis of politics and government

The May issue of *California Journal* is entirely dedicated to the 1994 primary election, to be held June 7th. There are extensive analyses of the races for governor, U.S. Senate and insurance commissioner, plus summary wrap-ups on contests for all other constitutional offices. In addition, this issue contains the *Journal's* district-by-district analyses of all races for Congress, state Senate, the Assembly and the Board of Equalization. Finally, there are detailed looks at three additional propositions — 1A, 1B and 1C — recently placed on the ballot by the Legislature.

Governor 8
Time is running out for John Garamendi in his attempt to wrest the Democratic nomination from Kathleen Brown. Meanwhile, Governor Pete Wilson has a challenge from the right.
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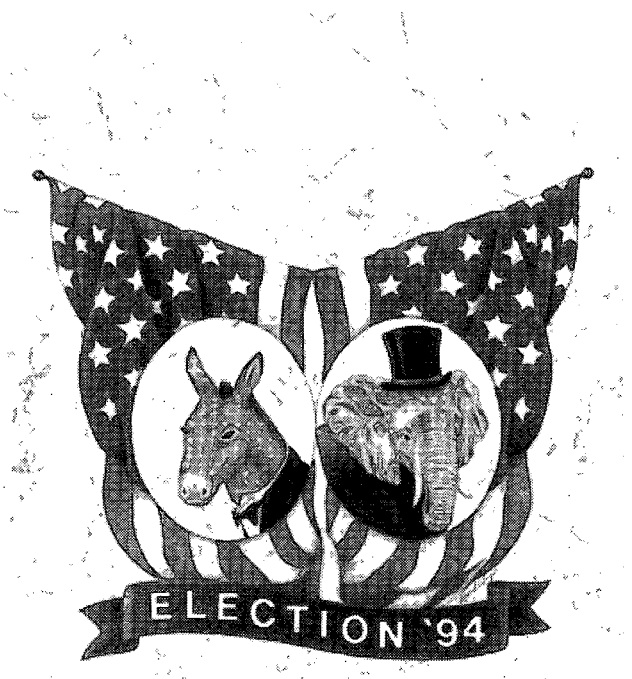

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Up Front

UMBRAGE

Moonlighting. Hearing a politician's voice boom over the airwaves is nothing new in an election year, but a radio spot airing in San Francisco last month bore a different message. There was the deliberate, Walter Matthau-ish twang of Senator Quentin Kopp (I-San Francisco) shilling for a roofing company. In the ad, Kopp identifies himself as a "talk-show host," then sings the praises of Armstrong Roofing — a company whose radio spots often feature Bay Area celebrities. After Kopp finishes his speil, the announcer refers to him as "Senator Kopp." A product endorsement seemed a bit much for a lawmaker, even an iconoclastic independent like Kopp. And, it was. Kopp, of course, did record the spot — eight years ago, when he was a member of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors and a talk-show host for radio station KGO. Kopp said the original endorsement was unpaid, and even at the time he recorded it, he felt uneasy and had asked that it be taken off the air after it had run but a few days. He insists Armstrong president Howard Fein had no clearance from him to use the tape again, and wasn't aware that it was airing until he started receiving calls from friends. The ad was pulled after Kopp complained to Fein.

Illustration by Steve Greenberg

Pay up or shut up: The political philosophy of Senator **Cathie Wright** (R-Simi Valley). Suspicion runs deep among those who observe the Legislature that lawmakers routinely are bought off by campaign contributions from special interests, but rarely is the point driven home so vividly as during the debate in Senate Judiciary last month over AB 13, the anti-smoking measure authored by Assemblyman Terry Friedman (D-Los Angeles). Just before the committee was to vote on a watered-down version of the bill, a man in the audience vented his spleen over results of a UC-San Francisco study of some $3 million thrown at the Legislature by the tobacco industry, including $215,000 bestowed on members of Judiciary. The witness then focused on Wright's duplicity for complaining that the bill had been watered down, then admitting she opposed it in any form.

The witness' remarks brought a sharp response from Wright:

"I do not like the inference coming from you or anybody else that any member of either this committee or the Legislature is bought," Wright fumed.

At that point, Senate President pro Tem Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward), who sits on Judiciary, sensed where Wright might be headed and tried to derail her by calling for a vote on the bill. But the Simi Valley lawmaker had another point to make:

"I will tell you this," Wright continued. "You try running a campaign when you have to turn around and contact people like you, who wouldn't give a dollar to a candidate. All the representations about political-action committees ... they represent people who put their money together. When you want to start donating funds to people here on this board because they either vote or don't vote for what you believe in, then you have a right to complain. I am not doing anything in this committee because of any kind of money I get ..."

We suspected all along that some lawmakers assume there ought to be an entry fee for participating in the legislative process, and we want to thank Wright for confirming it. By the way, Wright is a Republican candidate for lieutenant governor. Entry fees may be sent to her campaign committee.

Wrong number. According to *San Diego Union Tribune* columnist Tom Blair, a San Diego TV station wanted to give a helping hand to locals expecting tax refunds thanks to a court decision. So, it gave out a phone number supplied to them by Board of

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Equalization member Ernie Dronenburg. Unfortunately, reports Blair, the number was meant for the station's reporters, not the public; it connected the caller with Dronenburg's car phone — at 20 cents a minute on Ernie's phone bill.

Fraternity brother: Said Assembly Speaker (and television talk-show host) Willie Brown Jr. on his Sacramento TV program: "We in the world of journalism ..." Sorry, Mr. Speaker. Nothing that comes out of a TV talk show passes as journalism.

Immigration policy. Republican congressional candidate Richard Sybert of Los Angeles may have the most novel immigration proposal of the election season. Sybert is running in the CD 24 GOP primary, vying for the right to take on Democratic incumbent Tony Beilenson. When the topic turned to the issue of immigration at a recent GOP candidate's forum, Sybert turned to his wife, Greta, who was born in Brazil. "That's the kind of immigration policy we need," he mused, "where we skim off all the pretty women from these countries."

Hyperbole of the month. Honor to Brooks Firestone, a Republican who's running for the Assembly in AD 35. Firestone sent out a campaign beg recently that began, "When the Founders of our country described the ideal public servant, they described Brooks Firestone perfectly — successful entrepreneur, family man, and community leader."

'Tis weak and vicious people who cast the blame on fate."

— Ralph Waldo Emerson

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." So, rush your items to Up Front, 2101 K Street, Sacramento, CA 95816. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

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Two Cents Worth

COMMENTARY

A pox on the pack

The daughter has reached the age where her political questions are becoming more sophisticated. It was only last election season when the extent of her interest was, "Which one are we for?" There was always an answer for that, although I may not have been happy about it.

This year, though, she is asking, "Is [fill in the candidate] any good?"

Remembering that I make my living by convincing people I know the answer to that question, I confess I was stumped. And the current campaigns being waged by any of the leading contenders for governor aren't doing much to help me find an answer.

Lets make a quick run through the field.

Incumbent Governor Pete Wilson insists he is a tough governor for tough times. But Wilson's problem is that when he gets tough, he turns into the political equivalent of a school-yard bully. The people he is toughest on are those least able to defend themselves — the poor and the newest residents of our state. He's the type of governor who can get a freeway repaired in half the usual time but is totally befuddled when confronted with a deteriorating school system. Wilson once had a vision of what the state should be like, indeed he articulated it well in his first state-of-the-state address. But somewhere along the line, perhaps because of the recession or the natural disasters he has had to cope with as governor, Wilson lost it. Now, all that remains is a governor who can play to our fears but not to our hopes.

As for Wilson's new-found opponent, Ron Unz, he's building a campaign on the notion that he's an even meaner than Wilson.

Front-running Democratic challenger Kathleen Brown has a campaign that has been stumbling along for months now. We paid observers have offered all sorts of reasons for this, most of which boil down to her lack of experience for the job. It's a disappointment for those who thought she was the perfect combination of her brother's smarts with her father's political instincts and personality. She's certainly smart enough, and the campaign has ground out a stack of position papers, but they read like college term papers from someone who's done all the reading but still doesn't understand the subject. At bottom, her problem is that she really doesn't know why she wants to be governor. In response to such questions, she has answered that, well, it's in the family — a reply that's nice if you're a Brown but a little unsettling for the rest of us — or that she's not Pete Wilson. The latter may be enough for her to win the governorship.

Trailing behind Brown is John Garamendi. There is no question that Garamendi knows the subject area. Indeed, he's a wonk who can quickly make your eyes glaze over with detail. He has trouble, however, putting that detail into a coherent philosophy the rest of us can understand and learn to support. Since he's well back in second place as of this writing, nobody has bothered to point out that we still don't know what Garamendi, in his heart, wants to do for the state of California. Then there's that lurking suspicion that, when it comes down to it, what's really in Garamendi's heart is that he wants to be governor.

Finally, there's Tom Hayden, the late arrival on the gubernatorial scene. A surfer on the wave of the future, no matter which way the liberal tide may be flowing, count on Hayden to be on top of the curl. He's currently a populist, but don't expect that to last.

I'm afraid, Sarah, that you're going to have to muddle through with the electorate.

I liked the old question better. And I'll give you the same answer I always did: I'm going to vote for my own interests. I'm going to vote for the candidate who will be the most fun to cover. It may not be any good for the state, but why should I be bored?

— *Richard Zeiger*

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Independent analysis of politics and government

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A Close Look at Today for a Better Tommorrow

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3. Encourage local media coverage (cable, print, radio) of their event and activities so as to benefit many others.

How to Send a Team:

Each community's team should include at least one educator, one high school student and one adult civic leader. The cost for each three person team is $1,000 which includes accomodations, all breakfasts and dinners, program materials and post-conference consulting services. Additional persons may attend for $325 each. Transportation to Sacramento is not included. Conference fees for previous participants have been covered by local school districts, businesses, foundations, elected officials, service clubs and government agencies, or a combination thereof. For Reservations, or to Sponsor a Team from your community, Please Contact:

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Governor

Brown

Hayden

If you follow politics at all, the modest spring resurgence of Governor Pete Wilson's fortunes may have engendered a feeling of *deja vu.* It was April 1993 in a state called New Jersey when an unpopular incumbent named Jim Florio — left for dead after a huge tax increase — began a remarkable political resurgence in his reelection effort. Florio's cause was aided by constant missteps by a woman running in the opposition primary, a candidate derided as a dilettante with no clear message or mission. That "dilettante" is now Governor Christine Whitman. For Wilson, the lesson of New Jersey is a sobering one: An unpopular incumbent can run a flawless campaign, face a weak opponent, get all the breaks, and still lose on election day.

If poll numbers are any indication, Wilson is certainly unpopular enough to suffer Florio's fate. Wilson's negatives entering the race were higher than those of any governor entering a re-election campaign in more than three decades, running anywhere from 40 percent to 50 percent depending on which poll you read. While the number of people undecided about Wilson has fluctuated with events, his negative rating in most polls has remained rock-solid in the 40 percent-50 percent range for more than a year and a half.

The prospect of beating a weakened incumbent was the big draw for two of the three Democrats running for governor this year — Treasurer Kathleen Brown and Insurance Commissioner John Garamendi. Brown all but announced her campaign in 1992, when Wilson's stock plunged to its current level after a lengthy and embarrassing 64-day state budget stand-off. With two former governors in

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Democrats vie for right to face a wounded Wilson

By Steve Scott

Garamendi

her family — father Pat and brother Jerry — Brown's track to the race was practically pre-ordained. She raised millions of dollars, charmed the Eastern media, and offered what appeared to be a refreshing alternative to Wilson's unimpressive sameness.

A funny thing happened on the way to the coronation, however. Brown's initial campaign team, stocked with East Coast imports, seemed somewhat overwhelmed by California's self-contradicting regionalism. Early in her relatively brief tenure, Brown campaign manager Theresa Vilmain, an Iowan whose most recent political experience was in New York, insulted about a third of the electorate by referring to Northern California as "upstate." In an effort to deflect charges that she wasn't specific enough on issues, Brown unveiled multi-point plans on key issues that fostered a new image: a candidate whose policy knowledge was a mile wide and an inch deep. She changed her position on NAFTA and on a proposed temporary tax for earthquake repair. And she seemed to waffle on capital punishment, saying she personally opposes it but would enforce it if governor.

Brown was still winning the East Coast, as a fawning "60 Minutes" profile showed, but back home she looked very human. Polls showed her lead in a head-to-head matchup against Wilson was shrinking. Finally, in March, Brown dialed 911, and help arrived in the form of Clint Reilly, perhaps the state's most notorious political hired gun. After a swift housecleaning of the top campaign staff, Reilly outfitted Brown with a new, focused message: California is sliding, and Pete Wilson is to blame. "The biggest issue that

Wilson

Illustrations by Norm Hines

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drives this race is the decline in the quality of life in this state," says Reilly. "Since Pete Wilson is running the show, it becomes an indictment of his performance."

All of this turmoil in the Brown campaign figured to help Garamendi, arguably the best-known constitutional officer apart from the governor. Garamendi also began planning his campaign early on, but focus was not a problem, as his message was a simple one: Get Kathleen Brown. It started with a speech to Democratic leaders last fall in which Garamendi assailed candidates who "tack to the political winds," and harped on his support for capital punishment, which Brown opposes. When the earthquake hit in January, Garamendi immediately called for a temporary sales tax hike to pay for the damages, accusing Brown of lacking the political courage requisite for the job. Garamendi earned the backing of the state's largest police union and blocked the expected endorsement of Brown by the California Teachers Association. Perhaps most important were early polls showing Garamendi doing better than Brown in head-to-head match-ups with Wilson.

Did all this cleverness and good fortune translate into a big gain on the front-runner? In a word, no. An all-important round of spring polls showed Garamendi still lagging by anywhere from 15 to 22 points. Moreover, the *Los Angeles Times* poll showed he was no longer viewed as the stronger candidate against Wilson. Garamendi also found himself on the business end of some bad press. *The Sacramento Bee* ran a long series of articles detailing missteps by his insurance department in its handling of defaulted insurance companies. Strapped for cash, Garamendi's campaign consisted largely of pre-scheduled "work days" in which he performed a different job in each of the state's 58 counties.

An all-important round of spring polls showed Garamendi still lagging by anywhere from 15 to 22 points.

Garamendi's inability to capitalize on the disarray in the Brown campaign could wind up being the turning point, if Brown wins in June. A man with personal wealth at his disposal, Garamendi held back on a much-needed cash infusion for a crucial three weeks, giving Reilly a chance to put Brown's campaign back on its feet.

"Kathleen Brown is in an extremely vulnerable position right now," said GOP consultant Wayne Johnson shortly after Reilly's appointment. "If he has something, now is a very good time to go after her." Garamendi didn't, losing an opportunity to improve his position in the polls and give potential donors a reason to contribute.

Although the candidates have offered their positions on a range of issues, the campaign itself has really been about one issue: crime. Brown, considered vulnerable on the issue, got a break when it was learned that serial rapist Melvin Carter was to be freed on parole, after an eleventh-hour administration attempt to block it failed. Although Brown was wrong when she asserted that Wilson was to blame for Carter's release, the attack was made for local TV news, and Wilson found himself with a mini-Willie Horton on his hands. More than three weeks after Carter's release, Wilson was forced to spend $500,000 on a statewide primary spot defending himself against the attack. Garamendi, meanwhile, took the crime issue to Brown by repeatedly hammering away at her opposition to the death penalty, previewing what she might expect in a fall campaign against Wilson.

The only interruption in the depressing sameness of the campaign rhetoric came in February. In the race's first real surprise, Democratic state Senator Tom Hayden, the ex-'60s radical and former husband of Jane Fonda, announced his candidacy. Vowing to accept no contribution larger than $94, Hayden promised to fight "the obstinate power and money of special interests." Hayden's surprise announcement came right in the middle of Brown's own announcement swing, stealing a good share of her thunder. Although his politics are clearly more liberal than either Brown's or Garamendi's, Hayden's focus on political and campaign reform aims squarely at the disaffected middle that, in 1992, spawned Ross Perot's United We Stand organization. "We had the L.A. Chapter [of United We Stand] on their feet," said Hayden campaign director Duane Peterson.

While Hayden's outsider campaign will be run on a shoestring, another surprise entry into the race promises to do a little more for the economy. Giving voice to much of the grumbling that has followed Wilson since he became governor, conservative Silicon Valley businessman Ron Unz announced last month that he would challenge Wilson in the Republican primary. Unz, who owns a company that produces business software, dropped his bomb in a series of newspaper advertisements, all part of a $1 million media buy aimed at launching his campaign. Unz bills himself as "*the* Republican for governor," citing Wilson's agreement to a $7 billion tax increase as proof he's no different from the Democrats. Unz' campaign earned "legitimacy" of sorts when the staunchly anti-Wilson California Republican Assembly overwhelmingly endorsed his candidacy over the incumbent.

Wilson campaign spokesman Dan Schnur insists the governor is not concerned about the insurgent campaign. "There are three Democratic candidates out there right now taking their best shots," said Schnur. "One more voice isn't going to change a lot of that."

While Hayden and Unz each bring a wild card to their respective races, neither appears to have what it takes to be competitive, let alone to win. Thus, the only remaining question is: Can John Garamendi still pull it out? His campaign manager, Darry Sragow, is doggedly optimistic.

"The decision of the Pete Wilson campaign to plop half a million dollars into a negative ad on Kathleen Brown is an absolutely fundamental move in this chess game," says Sragow. "You have Kathleen Brown and Pete Wilson mud wrestling with each other, allowing John ... to run as a fresh alternative to two very conventional politicians." Time, however, is not on Garamendi's side, particularly against a well-funded opponent who, by gender alone, gives the appearance of being the "fresh alternative."

"We're certainly not looking past Garamendi," says Reilly. "We do think we have some very significant advantages that will make Garamendi's job very hard."

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U.S. Senate

Mystery man Michael Huffington will haul his millions into a battle with Dianne Feinstein ... if he gets by the Republican primary

By Vic Pollard

Huffington, Huffington, Huffington. To insiders, nothing else seems to matter in California's race for the U.S. Senate this year. How much he matters to voters remains to be seen. The early evidence: Not much.

Incumbent Democrat Dianne Feinstein appeared to be a sure bet for an easy re-election until a little-known Republican congressman with an estimated $75 million fortune, Michael Huffington of Santa Barbara, decided to take her on. With a threat to spend up to $15 million of his own money on the campaign, Huffington froze the handicappers in their tracks as he dumped an estimated $1 million into an early series of get-to-know-me commercials that aired statewide before and during the Winter Olympics. He also scared Feinstein, whose personal wealth is estimated at a paltry $50 million, into a fund-raising frenzy. She set her campaign budget at a minimum of $10 million, at least $3 million more than it cost her to get elected the first time in 1992. That means, the *Wall Street Journal* reported, that she needs to raise $22,000 a day.

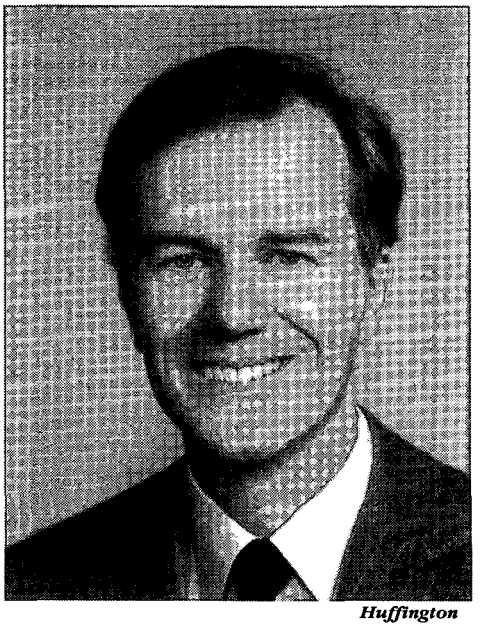
But wait.

The first real test of whether the 47-year-old Huffington could use his millions to turn his name into a household word came in late March. The results of the *Los Angeles Times* poll, taken more than a month after Huffington's opening TV blitz, must have been a sharp disappointment for him. The poll showed that 68 percent of the Republicans whose votes he needs in the June 7th primary election still didn't know enough about him to say whether or not they liked him. Worse for Huffington, the poll showed that Feinstein is the state's most popular politician, who at that point would have swamped Huffington by 58 percent to 28 percent.

The poll didn't just buoy the Feinstein camp. It sent tremors of joy through the campaign of former GOP Congressman Bill Dannemeyer. He's the arch-conservative who's been campaigning — with very little money — for Feinstein's seat almost from the moment he lost the 1992 GOP primary to then-incumbent John Seymour. While Dannemeyer, 64, didn't do much better than Huffington in a matchup against Feinstein, Republicans who knew something about the Senate race gave Dannemyer a 22 percent-13 percent edge over Huffington. By mid-April, however, Dannemeyer's lead had vitrually disappeared. The Field Poll put Dannemeyer at 19 percent and Huffington at 18 percent among Republicans who were registered to vote or likely to register. That good news for Huffington was tempered by the fact that in a hypothetical general election matchup, Feinstein had lost virtually no ground to either of them, steamrolling Dannemeyer by 57-31 percent and Huffington 56-30 percent.

Not so fast.

There's still more than a month to go before the primary, and Huffington can be a man of many surprises. Just ask former veteran GOP Congressman Robert Lagomarsino. Forced by reapportionment to run in a largely new district two years ago, "Lago" was blindsided in the primary by Huffington, the wealthy son of a wealthy Texas oil man who poured $5.4 million of his own money into the campaign. It was the most expensive House campaign in the nation's history, and what Huffington won was an obscure congressional seat on the minority Republican side of the aisle, where he had little chance of making an early impact. By all accounts, he didn't try very hard, beyond making an unsuccessful effort to organize freshman House members into a group that he said would try



Huffington

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to wrest some authority from the seniority-driven leadership.

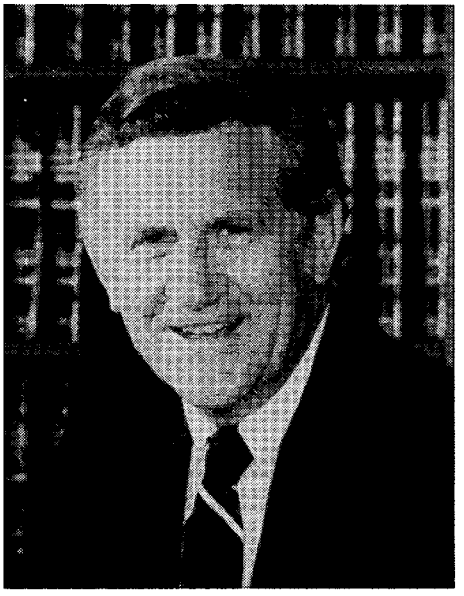
Within months of taking office, Huffington began making moves to run for Feinstein's Senate seat. He scrambled the conventional wisdom about Feinstein's re-election prospects with a mystique that is magnified by his wife. Born in Greece and educated in the United States, Arianna Stassinopoulos Huffington, 44, is a beautiful socialite who is also the author of several books that include controversial biographies of Maria Callas and Pablo Picasso. She's about to publish another book that she says will advance her unusual philosophy of New Age-like spiritual and moral revival combined with a thoroughly Republican opposition to most government welfare programs. She is well-connected to the paparazzi as well; Barbara Walters was a bridesmaid when Arianna married Huffington.

If you've concluded by now that they sound like a couple whose real goal is the White House, you're in step with the majority opinion. Says Huffington: "All I'm running for is the Senate, but I don't deny that if the opportunity to be president presented itself to me, I would try to take it."

Huffington describes himself as a moderate on social issues — pro-choice but against most government funding for abortions — and a conservative on fiscal issues. He is campaigning against Feinstein as an outsider trying to wrest control of government from career politicians. "She's been quoted as saying government is my life," he said in an interview. "Government is not my life. ...She believes government can solve people's problems. My view is, yes, government can solve some problems, but many have to be solved by the people ourselves."

When the general election campaign gets under way, Feinstein, 59, will campaign hard on her record of service to California since she took office: grabbing a seat on the Appropriations Committee where she helped secure quick money for earthquake relief, breaking the long deadlock over the Desert Protection Act, snagging more money for Border Patrol officers and so on and on. She says Huffington went off to Washington, accomplished little or nothing and then abandoned his constituents to run for the Senate. "Mr. Huffington made a commitment to the people of his county and broke his commitment," she says. "He did not perform for his district."

Feinstein



Dannemeyer

Squires

That argument plays well, in fact, among many in Santa Barbara County, where Huffington left the Republican Party in a state of war between his supporters and a large Lagomarsino faction. So bitter is the split that Lagomarsino shipped copies of much of his anti-Huffington campaign material — minus campaign contributors — to both Dannemyer and Feinstein.

Dannemeyer, the Jesse Helms of California politics, is blasting away at Huffington's voting record, in which he broke with his GOP colleagues on several of what Dannemeyer says are bellwether votes. "Dear Congressman," he wrote in an open letter to Huffington, "Based on your short voting record, I have a question for you. Why don't you re-register as a Democrat?"

Is there anybody else out there?

In all, 14 people are running for nominations from five different parties, about average for California. For the record, Democrats in addition to Feinstein are Ted J. Andromidas of Los Angeles and Daniel Davy O'Dowd of Santa Barbara. Joining Huffington and Dannemeyer on the GOP ballot are John M. Brown of Stockton, Wolf G. Dalichau of Los Angeles and Kate Squires of Riverside. Others are American Independent Paul Meeuwenburg of Los Angeles; Libertarian Richard B. Bodie of Huntington Beach; Pace and Freedom candidates Elizabeth C. Barron of San Jose and Larry D. Hampshire of Rancho Santa Fe; and Green Party hopefuls Barbara Long of San Francisco and Kent W. Smith of Sacramento.

The 1994 award for starry-eyed dreamer goes to Squires, a 35-year-old conservative Riverside businesswoman who decided to shoot very high in her first run for office. With far less money than Dannemyer, Squires' tireless campaign of personal appearances up and down the state has gotten her increasing mention in news accounts alongside the major candidates. But it hasn't done much to improve her standing among political professionals, where the name of the game is still what it always was:

Huffington, Huffington, Huffington.

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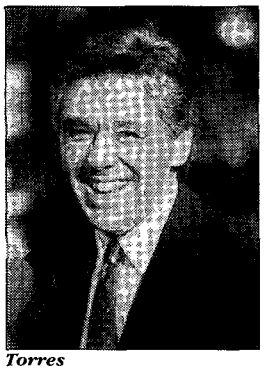
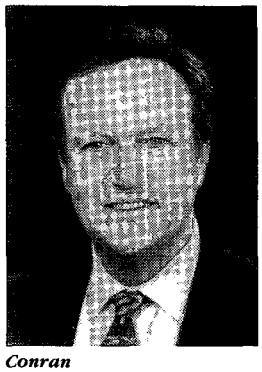
Insurance Commissioner


Torres

Margolin

Quakenbush


Conran

Bannister

By Mary Beth Barber

When Proposition 103 passed in 1988, many observers thought the job of insurance commissioner would become a political dead-end. No way could anyone satisfy voter expectations in the wake of the auto-insurance reform initiative that, among other provisions, made the post elected rather than appointed.

But John Garamendi, who became the state's first elected insurance commissioner in 1990, has avoided the pitfalls and used the position as a springboard for his current gubernatorial campaign (see story, page 10). In fact, the job has been much in the spotlight of late, thanks in large measure to a string of natural disasters that put pressure on the insurance industry.

Garamendi's run for governor has left a statewide office vacant, and there never is a shortage of candidates willing to fill a vacuum — especially in this era of legislative term limits. This year's election features several Republicans and three Democrats in primary battles.

The leading Democrats are Assemblyman Burt Margolin and Senator Art Torres, both of Los Angeles; Margolin from the affluent west side and Torres from the working-class east side. John Kraft, an insurance consultant from Industry, also is on the Democratic ticket but has few funds and little chance of competing with Torres and Margolin. The Republican ballot will have six candidates, but only three seem viable: Wes Bannister, an insurance agent who won the 1990 GOP primary; Cupertino Assemblyman Chuck Quackenbush; and former Department of Consumer Affairs Director Jim Conran. Glen Dulac, Jack Harden and James Stieringer are not thought to be contenders. Third-party candidates include American Independent A. Jacques, Libertarian Ted Brown and Peace and Freedomite Tom Condit.

Torres and Margolin are as diverse as the parts of the city they represent. Margolin is regarded as a technocrat who has been hostile to the insurance industry. Torres, although not a friend to the industry, is said to be more of a negotiator. The largest policy difference between them may be over no-fault auto insurance, where accident costs are paid regardless of the party at fault. Torres supports the notion; Margolin opposes it.

Personally, the two Democrats are worlds apart. Torres is a media-savvy Latino who began his political activism at the side of the late Cesar Chavez, president of the United Farm Workers. Early in his career, the bright, articulate Torres was regarded as the Latino community's "golden boy," someone who might parlay experience and movie-star looks into the governor's office. But some of the luster has worn off in recent years, thanks in part to a messy personal life that, among other incidents, saw him twice arrested for drunk driving. Still, he could be the first California Latino to win statewide office in this century, and his ambition appears to burn bright enough to assume that insurance commissioner is yet a stepping-stone to governor.

Few observers, on the other hand, could ever picture the shy, quick-witted Margolin as climbing toward the governor's chair. It is said that he wants to be insurance commissioner because he likes that job. "[Margolin] is that geek you sat next to in high school with 10 million pens in his pocket," noted one political observer who asked not to be identified.

In terms of money, Margolin had raised $186,742 between January and mid-March, a tidy sum if shopping for a car but not nearly enough to be heard above the din in a year that features noisy contests for governor and the U.S. Senate. Fortunately, none of his competitors has any more money. Torres raised $115,444 over the same period. The ability to best augment those treasuries would seem to lie with Margolin, who has a funding base in wealthy west Los Angeles, including ties to the Berman-Waxman political apparatus. Torres, on the other hand, claims to be at a fund-raising disadvantage, since he heads up the Senate Insurance Committee and eschewed campaign cash from insurance interests. Margolin is the head of the Assembly Health Committee.

Basically, neither candidate is especially well known, although Torres has a head start in the recognition department thanks to his sponsorship of the pay-at-the-pump auto insurance scheme, which garnered national publicity all out of proportion to its success in the Legislature

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— which was nil. Still, it led to appearances last year on news shows such as "Good Morning America," visibility that only helps his candidacy

To knock Torres down, Margolin may have to draw voters' attention to Torres' personal life. Although Torres has to date beaten an admitted drinking problem, the notion of an insurance commissioner with DUIs on his driving record can't help in a close contest. Margolin said that he'd rather avoid a personal attack and wants to emphasize his own record, but he's not ruling out any strategy.

The great unknown in the Democratic primary involves two men who helped pass Proposition 103 and whose opinion on all things insurance is regarded as near gospel — Harvey Rosenfield, the sponsor of 103; and consumer guru Ralph Nader. Each has said he won't endorse a candidate, but Nader could have an impact with another "candidate report card" similar to one he produced just prior to the 1990 primary. It had little effect on Garamendi's campaign despite his low grade, but Garamendi ran against weaker candidates.

On the Republican side, Bannister, a Huntington Beach councilman, has been endorsed by elements of the insurance indsustry — namely, agents. That insurance agents and insurance companies have different goals is a nuance that may be lost on the voting public, thus the endorsement is not necessarily a plus for Bannister. His 1990 primary win was credited to a dearth candidates, and he is not expected to compete as strongly in 1994, especially given the two other Republicans vying for the prize — Quackenbush and Conran.

When Proposition 103 passed in 1988, many observers thought the job of insurance commisssioner would become a political dead-end.

Quackenbush's campaign is being managed by Joe Shumate, a political operative who, until January, was deputy chief of staff to Governor Pete Wilson. Conran, on the other hand, surprised many when he jumped into the race, a move not seen as popular inside the governor's inner circle. First of all, it cost Conran his job; he resigned his position in early March. Second, there is speculation that Conran's candidacy put Wilson in a awkward position because Quackenbush is a legislative ally. "It has created a very difficult situation for the governor," said one source close to the governor. "He's not pleased by Jim. There have been some strong conversations."

On the plus side, Quackenbush is mediagenic and comes off well on television and in flyers. Politically, he is regarded as a moderate whose business background lends itself to management of a large department. Conran has his tenure at Consumer Affairs, where he often took the side of consumers against industry. On the down side, lawmakers in general are regarded poorly among the electorate, while Conran is associated with an administration not generally seen as the consumer's best friend — regardless of his own work in the field.

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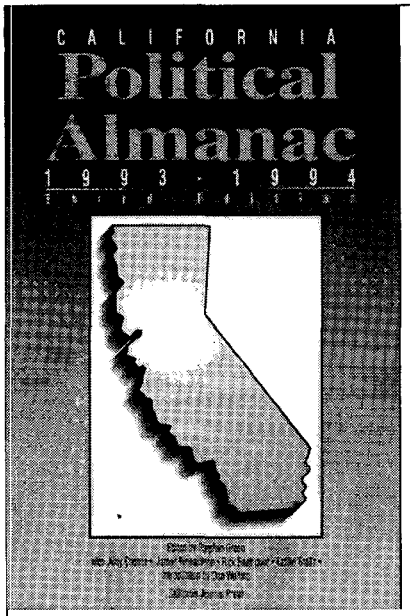

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Voice of the Voter

By Susan Rasky

Look out, it could be coming to a town near you. They call it "Voice of the Voter," a perhaps well intentioned, but ultimately hairbrained notion upon which three Bay Area news organizations are basing a significant part of their 1994 campaign coverage.

For the past two months, the management at the *San Francisco Chronicle*, KRON-TV and KQED-FM Radio, the area's largest public radio station, have been touting this new direction in coverage as an effort to "reverse the growing disconnect between citizens and the political process." The idea is to have readers, viewers and listeners "define the issues" by writing or calling in with questions for the gubernatorial candidates, whose responses are then printed and aired so that said citizens can "hold the candidates accountable for the answers."

Put aside for the moment the cheesy PR aspects of this enterprise, which have their roots in a 1992 experiment conducted by the *Charlotte Observer* and the Poynter Institute for Media Studies. And never mind the frustration of the participating reporters who watch important stories go uncovered while scarce newsroom resources and precious space or airtime are devoted to what amounts to an expanded version of letters to the editor.

What have these voter/candidate exchanges yielded so far?

First, the startling revelation that voters' top concerns are jobs, crime and education. And second, the equally startling revelation that when candidates are asked direct questions about controversial subjects, they A) duck the issues altogether, B) respond with vague platitudes, C) spin their answers to cast maximum aspersions on their opponents' positions.

To complete the ludicrous circularity of this reporting process, the news organizations then dutifully follow-up with stories in which voters complain about how unresponsive the candidates are to their real concerns, thereby confirming the prevailing public view that politicians and government can't be trusted and reinforcing the aforementioned "disconnect" between citizens and the political process.

At a less critical juncture in California's political and economic evolution, such pseudo journalism might be safely ignored as just another dumb marketing gimmick or media fad. What makes it noteworthy and troubling, however, is its emergence at precisely the time when economists, academics and influential business groups are coming out with some of the most thoughtful and provoking analyses of what ails California.

Just when the policy wonks are crunching the relevant numbers and beginning to usefully frame the kinds of difficult policy choices that will have to be made if the state ever hopes to prosper again, the newspeople who could best use this information to enlighten political debate are being asked to take their reporting cues from a woefully ignorant public.

It is neither fashionable nor polite — let alone politically correct — to suggest that the *vox populi* may not be all it's cracked up to be. But the dirty little truth that emerges in voters' "voices" is well known to political reporters, political scientists and above all to the politicians themselves: Citizens generally want very contradictory things from those who govern. And that's not just different groups of voters with conflicting ideologies or partisan preferences. *Vox populi* journalism is at its perversely instructive best when a single voter, asked to tell the candidates what's really wrong with California, manages to embody all the contradictory policy desires in one glorious burst of spleen venting.

For lack of a better description, the "consensus diagnosis" on California points to a serious long-term decline in the kinds of productive investments — schools, transportation, other infrastructure — that are absolutely critical to job creation and economic growth. Perhaps most important, the studies and analyses distinguish between the short-term problems created by the deep recession from which the state now finally seems to be emerging and the broader, underlying disinvestment that has been underway since 1970.

Predictably, the policy prescriptions differ depending on the liberal or conservative orientation of the study authors. How wonderful. The makings of a real debate. At last the opportunity to examine Pete Wilson's record over the last three years against some reasonable performance criteria, to test Kathleen Brown's much maligned term paper approach for actual policy content or to see if John Garamendi is as smart and bold as he says he would be if anybody would bother to listen.

Should the new investment be financed by higher taxes or deeper spending cuts? Who decides which investment is productive and is some of what passes for public investment really an agenda for income redistribution? Are sales taxes better or worse, economically speaking, than income taxes? Are there limits to what can and should be financed with bonded debt rather than direct revenue increases? Do further cuts in spending for entitlement programs make room for more productive uses of taxpayers' money or simply lead to more costly social programs? And even if elected officials could agree on a policy prescription, could it be implemented under California's tortured governmental structure of two-thirds voting requirements, property tax limits and earmarked revenue sources that put more than half of the state budget outside the direct control of either the governor or Legislature?

No candidate in his or her right mind makes a stump speech out of those kinds of policy questions. But reporters conversant with them at least have a fighting chance of offering the public some context for judging what the candidates are really saying or not saying when they babble about getting California back on track.

Undoubtedly the purveyors of voice-of-the-voter political coverage figured they were getting a leg up on the slimy pols and their handlers by letting voters speak directly to the candidates. No one argues that political reporting couldn't stand some serious improvement. But if the experiment in the Bay Area is any gauge, the polls are crafting their answers to the lowest common denominator. It may be democracy, but none dare call it journalism.

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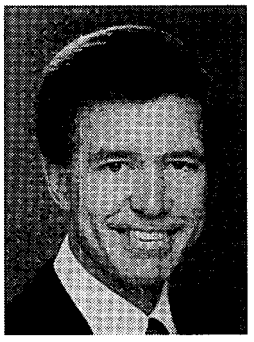
Constitutional Offices

Lieutenant Governor

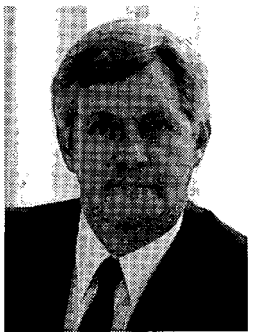
By John Borland

Incumbent Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy is riding into the sunset this year after a dozen years in office, and three major candidates are vying for his old job, best described as "the waiting game:" Democratic state Controller Gray Davis, Republican Senator Cathie Wright and GOP Assemblyman Stan Statham.



Davis

Davis, one of the state's most proficient money raisers, has steadily been climbing the political ladder ever since being elected to the Assembly back in 1982. He was elected controller in 1986 and re-elected in 1990 after briefly considering a run for governor. Two years ago, he ran for the U.S. Senate, losing in the primary to Dianne Feinstein. Along the way, the 52-year-old politician managed to alienate just about everyone with a television commercial that compared Feinstein to convicted hotelier Leona Helmsley. Davis, who came to prominence as chief of staff to former Governor Jerry Brown in the 1970s, has more than $2 million in the bank for 1994 and only a Los Angeles songwriter named Philip Ashmallah to worry about in the primary.



Statham

The GOP primary is a bit more heated, however, and features two very diverse lawmakers. Statham, 51, hails from Redding in the far north and has spent the better part of the past two years promoting a plan to split California into three separate states. The effort has garnered Statham more than a few guffaws, but also a wealth of national publicity. Statham, who has been in the Legislature since 1976, is seen as a maverick moderate often at odds with conservatives who control the Assembly Republican Caucus.

Wright

Wright, on the other hand, represents Simi Valley in Los Angeles County and has been more of a lock-step conservative during her 14-year legislative career. She spent a dozen years in the Assembly before being elected to the Senate in 1992, where she has a free ride in 1994. Wright is regarded as a feisty lawmaker and campaigner who tends to shoot from the hip, and her off-the-cuff remarks have landed her in hot water now and then. Most recently, Wright earned some unwanted publicity when she suggested at a legislative hearing that the only people who had a right to complain about the impact of campaign contributions on the legislative process were those who contributed to legislative campaigns (see Up Front).

Four minor parties also have candidates in the race. Robert Lewis of Rowland Heights represents the American Independent Party; Bob New of Glendale is the Libertarian; J. Luis Gomez of Los Angeles represents the Peace and Freedom Party; and Daniel Moses of Half Moon Bay is the Green.

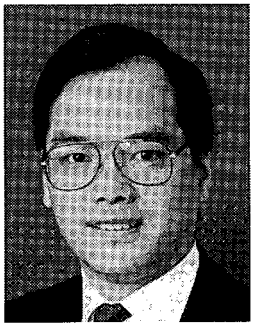
Treasurer

By Steve Scott

When 1994 dawned, the race for treasurer looked like it would be nothing memorable. Former Democratic Party Chairman Phil Angelides raised a lot of money to run for the largely ministerial post, hoping to ride the coattails of gubernatorial front-runner Kathleen Brown into the office she now holds. Then-Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti began methodically building his own war chest, with an eye toward a difficult primary battle against Angelides. Lots of money would be spent by each of them trying to be noticed over the din of the governor's race, with unopposed Republican Board of Equalization member Matt Fong quietly preparing for the eventual winner.

Roberti

Angelides



Fong

All of the race's seeming conventionality disappeared in late January when a coalition spearheaded by pro-gun organizations qualified a recall campaign against Roberti in his 20th state Senate District — the first legislative recall since 1914. The recall was motivated by Roberti's authorship of the state's ban on semi-automatic assault weapons. Suddenly, Roberti was more than just a veteran pol looking to move

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up; he was now also a hero of the fight for gun control. Money poured into his recall coffers from all over the nation, and Sarah and Jim Brady both made appearances on his behalf. Roberti eventually beat the recall, in the process gaining the kind of attention that neither Angelides nor Fong could hope to buy.

For Democrat Angelides, the damage was immediate. His effort against Roberti essentially was frozen for months, as an attack against the senator might be viewed as striking a blow for the gun lobby. Although Roberti had to spend $800,000 on the recall, he emerged with higher name recognition — vital in a race where candidates must struggle to be noticed at all. Through it all, Angelides has insisted the recall doesn't affect his effort, and he still plans to campaign aggressively against Roberti. His task is much steeper, however, as it is a lot easier to beat a politician than it is to beat a dragon slayer.

Secretary of State

By Danielle Starkey

For 20 years, Democrat March Fong Eu's election to yet another term as secretary of state has been the closest thing in California politics to an "automatic." But Eu is gone, off to be ambassador to Micronesia, and the Democratic primary to succeed her provides one of the more interesting races this June. Fresno Assemblyman Bill Jones, author of the "Three Strikes and You're Out" law, is running unopposed in the Republican primary.

Miller

Woo

Vying for the Democratic nomination are Los Angeles Assemblywoman Gwen Moore, an African-American; former Los Angeles City Councilman Michael Woo, a Chinese-American; and Eu's long-time chief deputy and now acting secretary of state, Tony Miller, a Caucasian who is the first openly gay candidate from a major party to seek statewide office.

So far, most of the fireworks have been between Woo and Miller. Woo, who served as an aide to former Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti of Van Nuys from 1976 to 1985, lost the run-off to Richard Riordan for mayor of Los Angeles last year, which gained him enormous name identification in the populous southland. Polls show he is the front-runner, but his campaign clearly is concerned that Miller, who has the benefit of his association with an office that is especially visible during the election season, could close that gap in the remaining weeks. Woo and Miller have tussled over Miller's ballot designation, "acting secretary state." Woo claimed that the designation clearly benefits Miller, who gave the title to himself. A court recently upheld the designation after Woo attempted a legal challenge.

Moore

Jones

Meanwhile, Moore has run a low-key campaign to date and is hoping to benefit from the dust-up between her two male opponents. Moore herself earned a degree of notoriety during the late 1980s by being the unwitting author of the bogus "shrimp" bill that launched the FBI's sting operation at the Capitol. A former Moore staffer and four former legislators have either pleaded guilty or been convicted on federal corruption charges connected with that bill, although Moore herself was cleared of any wrongdoing.

Controller

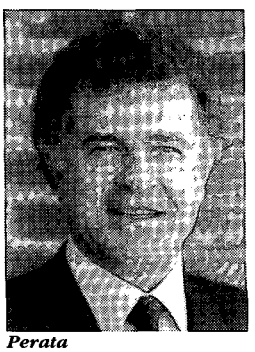
By Mary Beth Barber

Like most other statewide offices, the office of controller attracts candidates looking to jump higher on the political ladder — which is precisely what the current incumbent, Democrat Gray Davis, is doing by running for lieutenant governor. Three Democrats and two Republicans who hope to be the state's check writer will square off in June. Alameda County Supervisor Don Perata, Los Angeles businesswoman Kathleen Connell, and Central Valley Assemblyman Rusty Areias will fight for the Democratic nomination; former Assemblyman Tom McClintock will square off against political newcomer and Mervyn's department store heir John Morris for the GOP nod. There used to be four Democrats, however Board of Equalization member Brad Sherman of Los Angeles opted for re-election rather than enter a crowded primary.

Perata is best known for his fight to keep the Raiders football team in Oakland. The feisty supervisor also has connections to the Berman-Waxman political operation in Los Angeles, but the friendship hasn't paid off as of

Areias

Connell



Perata

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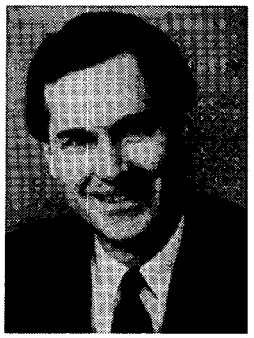
yet. Perata to date is underfunded and, although well known in the north, has yet to penetrate into the consciousness of the vote-rich southland.


McClintock

Money is no problem for Connell, who loaned herself $1.15 million. An advisor to Chemical Bank, she touts a whole string of business degrees, claiming that she knows money and how the controller should run the state. Connell, however, served as former Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley's housing director back in the early 1980s and reportedly was under fire for the way she administered several programs, including the spending of federal grants.

Areias brings to the race a legislative career where flash often overshadowed substance. A one-time *Cosmopolitan* "hunk of the month," Areias' early years were that of a Capitol playboy and troublemaker to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. as a member of the "Gang of Five" that tried to topple his speakership in 1988. A Central Valley legislator and dairy farmer, Areias has matured into a more thoughtful lawmaker. His cash base isn't as large as Connell's, but then again it isn't his own either. As soon as money comes in, Areias plans to spend it getting his name and face known in different parts of the state, especially Southern California. He also has personal resources, but his campaign says he won't need it.

On the GOP side, Morris' entry into the race came late and offers a moderate counterpoint to McClintock's near-Libertarian views. During his days in the Assembly, McClintock was a constant thorn in the side of Governor Pete Wilson, a fellow Republican, when it came to the budget. Typical GOP supporters like the correctional peace officers associations don't like McClintock either, since he had a habit of attacking correctional funding and their jobs.

But Morris has a messy political past that doesn't sit well with Republicans of any stripe. Mostly, he spent the past few years shelling out campaign contributions to well-known Democrats, including gubernatorial hopeful Kathleen Brown. He's spending that money on himself these days and his ability to pony up dwarfs McClintock's.

Attorney General

By Danielle Starkey

Incumbent Attorney General Dan Lungren, a Republican who won his seat by less than half a percentage point in 1990, is running unopposed in the Republican primary, as is his Democratic opponent, Assemblyman Tom Umberg of Garden Grove. Another Democrat, San Francisco District Attorney Arlo Smith, who lost to Lungren so narrowly 1990, had opened his campaign for the office but announced the day of the filing deadline that he would not run. He said that a contested primary would only damage the chances of either Democrat beating Lungren. He endorsed Umberg.

Lungren

Umberg

Lungren, 49, is said to be planning to run for governor in 1998, a feat accomplished by three of his predecessors: Earl Warren, Pat Brown and George Deukmejian. A former congressman representing Long Beach, Lungren's reputation is of a law-and-order conservative. He says he's running for re-election because his job isn't finished.

Umberg, 38, is Orange County's only Democratic assemblyman. He wants to be attorney general because he says Lungren's been "AWOL" in the "war on crime."

Both sides say that having Smith out of the race will help them. Lungren said that he benefits because, without a tough primary, Umberg won't get the statewide name recognition he needs. Umberg said he now can concentrate on swing voters, instead of spending money to compete with Smith for Democratic voters.

Superintendent of Public Instruction

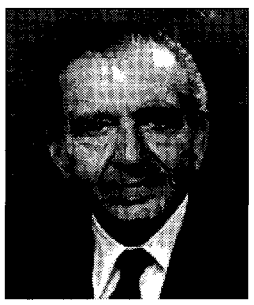
By Vic Pollard

The post-Bill Honig era in California education begins with the swearing-in of the new state superintendent of public instruction, who will be elected this year. Twelve people are vying to replace Honig, the tireless reformer who resigned last year after being convicted of conflict of interest because of his wife's involvement in an educational-consulting firm that did business with the state. So long was Honig's shadow that the major candidates for the non-partisan office all promise to continue to the drive for educational reform much the way Honig began it when he was elected 12 years ago, although they differ sharply on the means to the end.

Although 12 candidates' names will appear on the ballot for the non-partisan office, the race appears to be a three-way contest between Democratic Assemblywoman Delaine Eastin of Fremont; Maureen DiMarco, a Democrat who is GOP Governor Pete Wilson's education adviser; and Joseph Carrabino, former

Eastin

DiMarco


Carrabino

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member and chairman of the state Board of Education and a conservative Republican.

Eastin is running an aggressive campaign, demanding more money to bring California's per-pupil education spending from near the bottom among other states up to a least the national average. Some of the money, she says, could come from "our Cadillac prisons" to improve the state's "jalopy" schools.

DiMarco supports many of the same reforms that Eastin calls for, although she criticizes Eastin for "bashing prisons" to get the money. Eastin criticizes DiMarco as a defender of Wilson's education policies, although Wilson has given no indication he will endorse her.

Charging hard at both of them from the right is Carrabino, Honig's bitterest enemy when the former superintendent and the state board were battling over the board's authority to run the state Department of Education. He insists money to improve the schools can be freed up with better management of existing revenues with such things as consolidating county schools offices into regional offices.

The wild card in the race is Wilbert Smith, a bank executive and former Pasadena school board member who was active in last year's losing campaign for school vouchers. Smith bested Carrabino for the endorsement of the conservative California Republican Assembly.

Propositions

The following three measures were placed on the June primary ballot by the Legislature. Unfortunately, they were added too late to be included either in California Journal's *Ballot Book (see* CJ, *April 1994) or the secretary of state's official ballot pamphlet. The three — numbered 1A, 1B and 1C — will be included in a supplemental pamphlet issued by the secretary of state. The numbering scheme allows these measures to appear first on the ballot among all propositions.*

1A: EARTHQUAKE RELIEF AND SEISMIC RETROFIT BOND ACT OF 1994

A legislative act providing a $2 billion general obligation bond issue for an earthquake relief and seismic retrofit program.

Background: In response to the January 17th Northridge earthquake, the federal government has given California $9.5 billion for recovery programs, ranging from emergency response to infrastructure repair. To get the $9.5 billion, California must provide some matching funds; for instance, 10 percent of the cost to infrastructure. In addition to the federally-funded programs, California must pay for the seismic retrofit of state highways and bridges, and for housing reconstruction. Currently, the estimated cost of seismic retrofit $1.6 billion.

Proposal: Proposition 1A provides $2 billion for earthquake relief and seismic retrofit. Applied to Northridge, it designates $145 million for transportation, $65 million for public facility hazard mitigation, $950 million for seismic retrofit and $575 million for housing reconstruction. The state general fund will absorb the costs. Combined with 6 percent interest, the cost of 1A is estimated at $3.6 billion.

Arguments for: Governor Pete Wilson, Democratic State Senator David Roberti of Van Nuys and directors for California Chamber of Commerce, Congress of California Seniors and California Professional Firefighters claim 1A rebuilds Southern California while, simultaneously, creating 40,000 new jobs and "cutting through the red tape" of retrofitting. In addition, proponents argue that 1A provides revenue without raising taxes.

Arguments against: Tom McClintock, director of the Center for the California Taxpayer and a Republican candidate for state controller, argues that poor fiscal management, high unskilled labor wages and an already excessive debt ratio would more than double the estimated cost of 1A. McClintock says that 1A adds $565 in new taxes for the average California family.

1B: SAFE SCHOOLS ACT OF 1994

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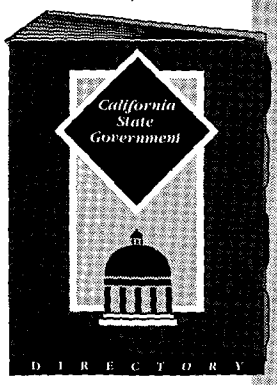

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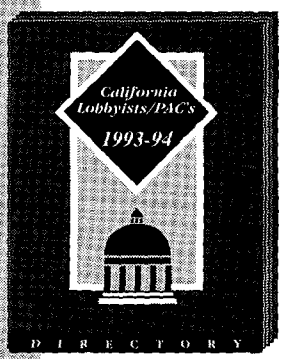

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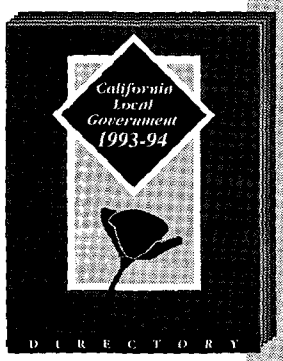

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funds and interest from the State School Building Aid Bond Law of 1952 for present-day public schools.

Background: The State School Building Lease-Purchase Program provides most funds for building, reconstructing and modernizing schools. To get these funds, school districts must contribute matching funds based on the maximum fees districts can collect from developers. Since 1986, voters have approved $6.8 billion in state general obligation bonds to fund these facility improvement programs. As of February 1994, $130 million of the bond funds remained available. Based on enrollment estimates and past costs, the Legislative Analyst predicts school districts will need a total of $11 billion to build new facilities in the next five years. An additional $2.3 billion also may be required for reconstruction and modernization. As of January 1994, school districts applied for a total of $6.2 billion to fund related projects.

Proposal: Proposition 1B authorizes the sale of $1 billion in general-obligation bonds through the State School Building Lease-Purchase Program in order to build news schools and to modernize and renovate existing schools. In addition, 1B allows $40 million of unsold bonds, formerly approved for the State School Building Aid Program, to be sold for the State School Building Lease-Purchase Program. Averaging direct costs and a 6 percent interest rate mean the measure would cost California $1.85 billion.

Arguments for: Democratic State Senator Leroy Greene of Sacramento, the California State PTA, California Labor Federation AFL-CIO and Congress of California Seniors argue that 1B alleviates school overcrowding, creates jobs and contributes to school safety without raising taxes.

Arguments against: The Libertarian Party of California opposes 1B on the grounds that the measure doesn't help the economy or schools. It claims that half the state budget already goes to education — primarily to bureaucrats. Libertarians recommend vouchers or tax credits as the alternative to 1B.

1C: HIGHER EDUCATION FACILITIES BOND ACT OF JUNE 1994

A legislative act authorizing a $900 million bond issue to provide funds for strengthening, upgrading and constructing state public colleges and universities.

Background: California's public higher education system includes the University of California, California State University, California community colleges, Hastings College of Law and the California Maritime Academy. This network features 138 campuses and 1.9 million students. Since 1986, voters have approved $2.4 billion in four general-obligation bonds for public higher education facility improvements. Also since 1986, the governor and the Legislature have provided $2 billion from lease-revenue bonds for similar purposes. Today, the money is nearly gone.

Proposal: Proposition 1C authorizes the sale of $900 million in general-obligation funds to build and improve California's higher education facilities. General fund revenues would pay the costs of 1C, estimated to be $1.6 billion, including interest.

Arguments for: Governor Pete Wilson, State Democratic Senator Gary Hart of Santa Barbara, Dr. Jonas Salk, Apple Computers co-founder Steve Wozniack and the California Faculty Association argue that all Californians benefit from a "healthy higher education system," adding that Proposition 1C helps boost the economy, creates jobs and prepares buildings for earthquakes.

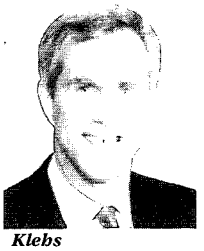
Arguments against: The Libertarian Party of California opposes 1C, stressing that bonds are not free money. It argues that building new higher education facilities does little to help the economy, and it suggests reducing regulations, spending and taxes.

BOARD OF EQUALIZATION

By Liv Williams

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

DISTRICT 1 (54% D - 30% R) — *Democrats: Johan Klehs of San Leandro; John Shimmon of San Francisco; Mike Simmons of Berkeley; and Rich Taylor of San Jose. Republicans: Mark Bendick of San Bruno and Robert Strawn of Pleasanton. Libertarian: Kennita Watson of Palo Alto.*

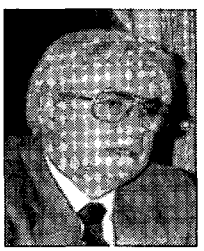


Klehs

Faced with heart surgery and a 1991 court battle over charges of filing false expense claims, Democrat William Bennett stepped down from his District 1 seat in 1992, and it's been vacant ever since. Governor Pete Wilson didn't even make a pretense of appointing someone to fill the void in a strong Democratic district. The putative front-runner is Klehs, a six-term Democratic assemblyman. Klehs, currently chairman of the Revenue and Taxation Committee, has the most money and highest profile of any candidate. Yet one challenger, Democrat Shimmon, has more experience with the board; he is a former board deputy. He's been endorsed by state Senator Quentin Kopp, a San Francisco independent. Shimmon, however, will need money to broadcast his experience in a district that sprawls all across Northern California, from the Oregon border to San Francisco Bay and east over the Sierra Nevada.

DISTRICT 2 (46% D - 41% R) — *Democrats: Holly Hoyt of Stockton; Joseph Micallef of Elk Grove; Frank Navarrette of Sacramento; Robert Presley of Sacramento; and Mark Stebbins of Stockton. Republicans: Dean Andal of Stockton; Harold Bertholf of Sacramento; Ron Glenn of Rancho Cucamonga; and Claude Parrish of Palmdale. American Independent: Ernest Vance of Sacramento.*

Andal



Presley

In years past, contests for the Board of Equalization have bordered on the torpid, with incumbents barely breaking a sweat from election to election. But BOE 2 offers a different pace in 1994 as two members of

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the Legislature square off:. Andal, a Republican assemblyman, and Presley, a Democratic senator, ought to romp through their primaries before the final showdown. Each lawmaker presents a different style and brings a different background to the election. Presley is the laconic veteran, having served in the Senate for 20 years after a long career in law enforcement. A conservative Democrat, he several times captured a Riverside County Senate district that leans heavily toward Republicans and should fall to the GOP now that he is gone. Unfortunately, his Riverside home lies outside BOE 2, and Presley has been forced to move his residence to rental property he owns in Sacramento. Andal, on the other hand, is an aggressive campaigner and often argumentative conservative Republican who nonetheless comes off as an affable adversary. A native of Stockton, Andal is certain to make an issue out of Presley's residency, hoping to appeal to conservative Democrats in an area prone to cross-over voting. Like Presley, Andal has won in districts that ought not to support his party, and many observers feel his district, too, will fall to the opposition now that he is gone. The real fireworks here start after the primary.

DISTRICT 3 (39% D - 46% R) — *Democrats: Mary Christian-Heising of La Jolla and Floyd Morrow of San Diego. Republican: Incumbent Ernest Dronenburg Jr. of San Diego. Libertarian: Ken Mason of Long Beach. Peace and Freedom: Maxine Quirk of Ontario.*

In a district that includes Orange and Riverside counties, where Republican registration is solid and where a Republican incumbent is seeking his fifth term, it would seem that Dronenburg will return for yet another term.

DISTRICT 4 (57% D - 30% R) — *Democrats: David Elder of Los Angeles; Jerome Horton of Los Angeles; Al Koch of Toluc Lake; Albert Robles of South Gate; incumbent Brad Sherman of Santa Monica; and Glanda Sherman of Los Angeles. Republicans: Ernie Dynda of Agoura Hills and Hal Styles Jr. of Woodland Hills. Libertarian: Lawrence Goldberg of Burbank. Peace and Freedom: Shirley Rachel Isaacson of Los Angeles.*

Before he finally decided to seek re-election in BOE 4, incumbent Sherman suffered the political equivalent of mulitple personality disorder: He filed intent papers to run for three board

Elder

Sherman

seats, as well as for state controller. While Sherman was spreading himself around, a formidable Democrat also filed an intent to run in BOE 4 — state Senator David Roberti. Roberti eventually decided to run for treasurer instead, sparing Sherman a battle that he probably could not win. Now, his fiercest primary challenge comes from former Assemblyman Elder, who has been out of politics since losing an Assembly primary in 1992. BOE 4 is limited to the Los Angeles area and is the most geographically compact in the state. Thus, in some ways, it is the easiest to campaign in — if a candidate has money. And that favors Sherman. Elder, and any other Democrat, will have to match Sherman's ability to spend before being able to capitalize on the incumbent's initial indecision.

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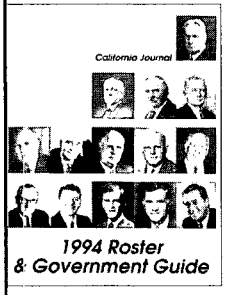

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Congress

The state's congressional delegation — at least for now — has been spared the Legislature's curse: Its members don't face term limits. And the results can be seen in the review below. In most of the state's 52 districts, incumbents are firmly in place. Indeed, there are only three open seats up this year — the San Jose-area seat held by Don Edwards, dean of the state's delegation; the Santa Barbara seat vacated by U.S. Senate hopeful Michael Huffington; and the Riverside County desert area seat being abandoned by Al McCandless. And each of these districts are unlikely to change parties. That doesn't mean there won't be some spirited challenges. Democrats picked up a fair number of seats during a presidential election year that might otherwise have ended up in GOP hands. And the Republicans are out to make amends. At the top of the target list is San Diego's Lynn Schenk, followed closely by Jane Harman of Marina del Rey, Tony Beilenson of Woodland Hills, George Brown of Riverside and Rick Lehman of North Fork. Although the Democrats probably have more to worry about, this doesn't mean that they don't have some opportunities. Diamond Bar's Jay Kim has been the subject of a campaign finance investigation and Ken Calvert of Corona hasn't fully explained the "off-duty" prostitute in his car. Orange County's Bob Dornan and John Doolittle of Citrus Heights both are favorite annual Democratic targets.

Following the 1990 reapportionment, Republicans had hoped they would pick up a substantial number of seats. After all, with a court-ordered reapportionment and seven brand-new seats, they should have had a much better chance. But when the dust had settled at the end of 1992, Democrats held five of the new slots and a 29-23 edge in the delegation. Republicans hope things go better this year, but it's unlikely that a majority of the delegation will come from the GOP.

DISTRICT 1 (52% D - 34% R) — *Democrats: Incumbent Dan Hamburg of Ukiah and Doug Bosco of Sebastopol. Republicans: Glen Deronde of Fairfield; Morton Levine of Clearlake; and Frank Riggs of Windsor.*

Bosco

Hamburg

While rematches are common, especially when redistricting throws two incumbents in the same district, CD 1 provides that rare congressional contest where three candidates who once represented the area are all trying to claim it. The Democratic primary likely will decide the winner in this Democratic-leaning district, with incumbent Hamburg the front-runner against former Congressman Bosco, who represented the district for eight years before being defeated in 1990 by a Republican. Observers say Bosco is trying to reclaim the seat because he believes Hamburg represents too narrow a fringe of environmentalist constituents. But Hamburg's supporters say that Bosco still has the strong ties to the timber industry that cost him his seat in 1990. The winner of the Democrats' battle then takes on the Republican, who likely will be former Congressman Riggs, who served one term before being defeated by Hamburg in 1992. Riggs' victory over Bosco was said to be due to the significant defection of Democrats to the Peace and Freedom Party candidate. And there are no third party candidates on the ballot this year. Bosco was set to run in the primary against Hamburg two years ago, but changed his mind just two days before the filing deadline when his name surfaced among those who'd written the most bad checks at the House bank. Since then, he's been a lawyer and lobbyist for Pacific Lumber, which is fighting Hamburg's proposal to prohibit logging on 45,000 acres of its property. Officials of the company already have endorsed Bosco.

DISTRICT 2 (44% D - 42% R) — *Democrat: Mary Jacobs of Greenview. Republican: Incumbent Wally Herger of Marysville. American Independent: Devvy Kidd of Redding.*

Jacobs, who owns a sheep ranch in Siskiyou County, faces a tough battle in this solidly Republican northeastern district against incumbent Herger.

DISTRICT 3 (48% D - 39% R) — *Democrats: Incumbent Vic Fazio of Woodland and Rodger McAfee of El Nido. Republicans: Nathan Arrowsmith of Red Bluff; Larry Fowler of Woodland; and Tim Lefever of Dixon. Libertarian: Ross Crain of Red Bluff.*

Fazio two years ago outspent just about every congressional incumbent in the country — $1.7 million — against former GOP state Senator H.L. Richardson. The result was an 11-point

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victory. Although Republican registration has edged slightly upwards since 1992, Fazio this time won't be facing one of the state's most colorful characters. Instead, he'll easily prevail over his Democratic primary opponent before taking on either Fowler, a 49-year-old businessman who has worked for Douglas Aircraft, PG&E and the U.S. Forest Service, or LeFever, a 33-year-old attorney who began his political career working for former Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb and now owns seven restaurants. Both Republicans are conservative: LeFever is president of the Dixon branch of the California Republican Assembly and is a founding director of the Western Center for Law and Religious Freedom, which supports conservative Christian causes. Fowler also is affiliated with the CRA. Arrowsmith was field representative for former Congressman Eugene Chappie.

DISTRICT 4 (42% D - 46% R) — *Democrat: Katie Hirning of Roseville. Republican: Incumbent John Doolittle of Orangeville. Libertarian: Damon Falconi of Sacramento.*

This district should be rock-solid for a Republican, but every two years, incumbent Doolittle has to wage an all-out campaign to stay in office. Mostly that's because Democrats can't stand the sight of Doolittle, a poster-boy for the GOP's most conservative faction. This time the incumbent's up against Katie Hirning, a 46-year-old computer software executive. As neither has a primary opponent, the fireworks won't begin until later this year.

DISTRICT 5 (59% D - 30% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Robert Matsui of Sacramento. Republicans: Robert Dinsmore of Sacramento and Mark Riordan of Elk Grove. American Independent: Gordon Mors of Sacramento.*

Matsui faces some old foes in Dinsmore and Mors.

DISTRICT 6 (55% D - 31% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Lynn Woolsey of Petaluma. Republicans: David Crockett of Sausalito; Duane Hughes of Novato; Lex McCorvey of Santa Rosa; Michael Nugent of Sonoma; Tom Rosanelli of Mill Valley. Libertarian: Louis Beary of Penngrove. Peace and Freedom: Earnest K. Jones Jr. of Santa Rosa.*

Woolsey has drawn five Republicans who want the chance to challenge her in November. There's not much evidence that she's vulnerable, although the GOP nominee is certain to denounce her for her votes for the Clinton budget and against NAFTA. In fact, the former welfare mother who became a successful businesswoman and won election to the House in 1992 is getting great ink as Congress debates welfare reform. Maybe it's only because she wasn't really tested in the 1992 election. Her opponent, Republican Assemblyman Bill Filante, stopped campaigning due to an illness that later claimed his life. The best-known challengers are Hughes, a gas company executive who lost the GOP primary for the local Assembly district in 1992, and Nugent, a mortgage broker and winemaker who serves on the Sonoma Valley Hospital District board. The rest are newcomers.

DISTRICT 7 (62% D - 24% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent George Miller of Martinez. Republican: Charles V. Hughes of Richmond. Peace and Freedom: William A. Callison of Concord.*

No problem for Miller.

DISTRICT 8 (65% D - 15% R) — *Democrats: Incumbent Nancy Pelosi of San Francisco and Robert Ingraham of San Leandro. Republican: Elsa C. Cheung of San Francisco.*

Pelosi does not appear in trouble.

DISTRICT 9 (69% D - 14% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Ron Dellums. Republican: Deborah C. Wright. Peace and Freedom: Emma Wong Mar. All of Oakland.*

Dellums is safe.

DISTRICT 10 (42% D - 44% R) — *Democrats: Timothy Horan and Ellen Schwartz of Walnut Creek. Republicans: Incumbent Bill Baker of Walnut Creek and Dave Williams of Livermore. Peace and Freedom: Craig W. Cooper of Concord.*

Baker is one of three California GOP incumbents viewed as potentially vulnerable to a strong, well-financed Democrat. His old nemesis, Democrat Wendell Williams, gave him a good scare four years ago in an Assembly race, but fell off substantially when the two tangled for Congress in 1992. Williams ran well by trying to paint Baker as too conservative for the East Bay district, and Democrats were somewhat disappointed that a better-known candidate didn't come out of the woodwork. The early betting is on Schwartz, a businesswoman and long-time community activist with endorsements from labor, women's and environmental organizations.

DISTRICT 11 (50% D - 40% R) — *Democrats: Randy Perry and Michael Sprague, both of Stockton. Republican: Incumbent Richard Pombo of Tracy. Libertarian: Joseph Miller of Rancho Cordova.*

Pombo, who defeated Patti Garamendi in a close election in 1992 in this Democratic-leaning San Joaquin Valley district, this year faces a formidable challenger in Perry, who for the past 11 years has been a lobbyist for the California Peace Officers Research Association, which represents 38,000 street cops. Armed with law-enforcement and labor support, Perry, 35, is one of the few Democrats who can run to the right of Pombo on crime. Democrats also are counting on the fact that Pombo's '92 victory was more a repudiation of Garamendi than of Democratic values. Pombo has hired Wayne Johnson, a political consultant who's been on a long winning streak.

DISTRICT 12 (56% D - 28% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Tom Lantos of San Mateo. Republicans: Bill Quraishi*

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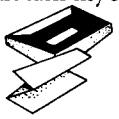

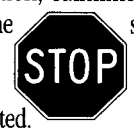

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of El Granada and Deborah Wilder of Foster City.

Quraishi garnered 28 percent of the vote against Lantos in 1990.

DISTRICT 13 (58% D - 27% R) — *Democrats: Incumbent Pete Stark of Hayward and Jim Mills of Livermore. Republicans: Larry Molton of Fremont and Verne Teyler of Castro Valley. Libertarian: Robert Gough of Milpitas.*

Stark should not have any trouble in the primary against Mills, who's lost to him twice before.

DISTRICT 14 (48% D - 36% R) — *Democrats: Incumbent Anna Eshoo of Palo Alto and Donald Tirey of Sunnyvale. Republicans: Ben Brink of Palo Alto and Ray Morton of Mountain View.*

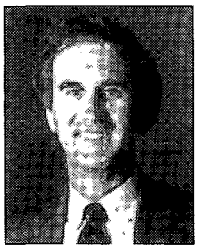
This seat, formerly held by moderate Republicans Ed Zschau and Tom Campbell, is shaky for Democrats. Eshoo faced a potential challenge from her own party when labor threatened to get her for voting for NAFTA. Her primary challenger, Tirey, is a technical writer and Democratic Central Committee member who lost to John Vasconcellos in a 1992 Assembly primary. He says he's opposed to NAFTA but there was no early sign that unions were throwing their weight behind his campaign. The Republican primary race could be a toss-up. Brink, an executive with a Silicon Valley financial firm, is backed by Campbell. Although this is his first run for office, he describes himself as a moderate who ducked out of politics when the GOP took its turn to the right in the '80s but was lured back in by Ross Perot's candidacy. Morton, a consulting engineer, also is making his first run for office, although he says he has experience working on others' campaigns. He points out that he did not support Perot in '92.

DISTRICT 15 (46% D - 38% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Norm Mineta of San Jose. Republicans: Doris Liu of San Jose and Robert Wick of Santa Clara.*

Mineta has a comfortable hold on this district, although Democratic registration is not that great.

DISTRICT 16 (55% D - 29% R) — *Democrats: Edward R. Dykes, Tom Harney, Richard R. Lane, Zoe Lofgren, and Tom McEnery, all of San Jose; and Cynthia Williamson of Morgan Hill. Republican: Lyle Smith of San Jose.*

This race to replace retiring Democrat Don Edwards most likely will be



McEnery

Dykes

decided in the Democratic primary, which is turning into an all-out war between McEnery, the popular former mayor of San Jose, and Lofgren, a veteran Santa Clara County supervisor and long-time activist. Lofgren has strong backing from women's groups determined to keep the 1992 "year of the woman" momentum going. McEnery, who thought about running for superintendent of public instruction before Edwards stepped down, is capitalizing on his record as the man responsible for revitalizing downtown San Jose.

DISTRICT 17 (53% D - 21% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Sam Farr of Carmel and Arthur Dunn of Pacific Grove. Republican: Bill McCampbell of Monterey.*

Unions were frosted at Farr for his

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late and well-publicized vote for NAFTA, and promised revenge. But Dunn has been a perennial unsuccessful candidate. And McCampbell lost to Farr in last June's special election for the House seat. Labor doesn't seem to be around.

DISTRICT 18 (53% D - 37% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Gary Condit of Modesto. Republican: Tom Carter of Modesto. Libertarian: James Morzella of Ceres.*

Condit, who was one of the dissident "Gang of Five" members challenging Speaker Willie Brown Jr.'s leadership when he was in the Assembly, has just the image the home folks adore.

DISTRICT 19 (47% D - 42% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Rick Lehman of North Fork. Republicans: Ron Gulke of Clovis; and Mike Der Manouel Jr. and George Radanovich, both of Fresno.*

Lehman is considered vulnerable after his near loss in the 1992 election to political newcomer Tal Cloud. Cloud announced he won't be running again this year, but Radanovich, who ran just one point behind Cloud in the '92 Republican primary, has thrown his hat in again. A Mariposa County supervisor and winery owner, Radanovich says that since water is a big issue in this district, he plans to use farmers' unhappiness with the Valley's water allocation to gain the support of the agricultural community. Also running are Der Manouel, chief financial officer of an insurance company, and Gulke, owner of a contracting business that specializes in fire suppression and detection. Both are making their first run for office.

DISTRICT 20 (60% D - 30% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Cal Dooley of Visalia. Republicans: John Estrada of Fresno and Carlos Murillo of Bakersfield.*

Dooley, a two-term incumbent, is in a safely Democratic seat.

DISTRICT 21 (41% D - 47% R) — *Democrats: John Evans and Deborah Vollmer. Republicans: Incumbent Bill Thomas and Nora Jenkins Weber. Libertarian: Mike Hodges. All of Bakersfield.*

This race could be a rematch between Thomas and his 1992 challenger, attorney Vollmer. Given the district's registration, it probably will have the same result. But first, Thomas must fight off a challenge from Weber, a health insurance agent who calls Thomas "the Democrats' best friend," and says she is the true conservative. GOP factions have engaged in cat-fights for years in this district, and Thomas can rarely take his primary for granted.

DISTRICT 22 (43% D - 41% R) — *Democrats: Walter Capps and Marty Stone of Santa Barbara; and Hilda Zacarias of Santa Maria. Republicans: Wayne Reddoch of Santa Barbara; Andrea Seastrand of San Luis Obispo; and Mike Stoker of Santa Maria.*

Overshadowing this race is a bitter war among Santa Barbara County Republicans between friends of veteran former Congressman Robert Lagomarsino and supporters of incumbent Congressman Michael Huffington, who

Seastrand

used $5.4 million of his own money to defeat Lagomarsino in 1992 and almost immediately began running for the U.S. Senate. Seastrand, whose base is in San Luis Obispo County, urged both Lagomarsino and Huffington to stay out of this race, but "Lago" and many of his associates are backing her opponent, Stoker. The campaign between Seastrand and Stoker is hot enough without the internecine warfare. Both are spending heavily, and bitter charges are flying back and forth. On the Democratic side, the unusual wrinkle is the candidacy of a professional political consultant, Stone. He was the California operative for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, headed by Congressman Vic Fazio. If he gets past Capps, a well-known university professor, and Zacarias, a tax consultant and school trustee, he'll have a tough time winning the GOP-leaning district. But then, nobody knows more about how to raise money than Stone. By the end of March, his campaign manager said he'd raised more than $100,000, $15,000 of it from one event in Washington, D.C.

DISTRICT 23 (44% D - 42% R) — *Democrats: Kevin Ready of Ventura and Frank P. Stephenson of Ojai. Republican: Incumbent Elton Gallegly of Simi Valley. Libertarian: Bill Brown of Camarillo. Green: Robert T. Marston of Simi Valley.*

Democrats thought they had a hot candidate two years ago with Anita Perez Ferguson. They put some effort into the race — and came up 12 points behind incumbent Gallegly. Ready has boasted of some money from congressional Democrats but it likely won't be enough to make him win, just pin down Gallegly.

DISTRICT 24 (44% D - 42% R) — *Democrats: Incumbent Anthony Beilenson of Woodland Hills and Scott Gaulke of Sherman Oaks. Republicans: Mark Benhard, Robert Hammer, Emery Shane and Richard Sybert, all of Woodland Hills; Sang Korman of Calabasas. Liertarian: John Koehler of Oak Park.*

Republicans thought they had a shot at incumbent Beilenson two years ago, when reapportionment sent the liberal incumbent into a conservative corner of the San Fernando Valley. But while Beilenson may have been too liberal for the district, his '92 challenger, current controller candidate Tom McClintock, was too conservative, and Beilenson skated to a surprisingly easy win. This time, the GOP is seeking a more moderate face. Leading the way is Sybert, until last year the director of Governor Pete Wilson's Office of Planning and Research. Sybert is a longtime GOP party loyalist who has piled up virtually all of the key GOP endorsements, and can count on help from the Wilson forces not already engaged in the governor's race. The political publication *Roll Call* named Sybert the number-one challenger in the country. The conservative flank is represented by public relations man Benhard, a former Washington, D.C., aide to Congressman William Dannemeyer. Benhard is endorsed by equally conservative state Senator Phil Wyman. Financier Hammer and real-estate broker Shane both have some business support and enough money for slick campaign materials, but neither is expected to match Sybert's firepower. Korean businessman Korman is a perennial, having run and lost in 1990 and 1992. Korman has been known to spend heavily — he dropped $800,000 into his

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1990 race — but he couldn't beat McClintock and will only have a tougher time against Sybert. Beilenson is virtually unopposed in the primary, facing only LaRouche supporter, Gaulke.

DISTRICT 25 (38% D - 48% R) — *Democrats: James Gilmartin of Santa Clarita and William Horning of Lancaster. Republicans: Incumbent Howard "Buck" McKeon of Santa Clarita and Sandra Tulley of Lancaster. Libertarian: Devin Cutler of Canoga Park.*

Since going to Congress, McKeon has been elected chair of the congressional freshman delegation. His primary opponent, Sandra Tulley, offers little challenge, nor does likely Democratic winner James Gilmartin, the retired military man who lost to him two years ago.

DISTRICT 26 (60% D - 28% R) — *Democrats: Incumbent Howard Berman of Panorama City; Jose Galvan of Sylmar; and G.C. "Brody" Broderson of Los Angeles. Republicans: Gary Forsch of Sun Valley; John Furutani of Los Angeles; and Bill Glass of Sherman Oaks. Libertarian: Erich Miller of Reseda.*

Although its population is two-thirds minority, the district remains a safe home for six-term incumbent Howard Berman who, along with fellow Congressman Henry Waxman, runs the political team that has dominated westside Los Angeles politics. Unlike past campaigns, Berman has token primary opposition from librarian Jose Galvan and "Brody" Broderson, who has his own local cable television show. The likely GOP challegner will be Sun Valley businessman Gary Forsch, who lost to Berman two years ago.

DISTRICT 27 (43% D - 44% R) — *Democrats: Daniel Hurst of Glendale; Doug Kahn of Altadena; and RobertKulpa of Burbank. Republicans: Elizabeth Michael of Pasadena and incumbent Carlos Moorhead of Glendale. American Independent: Bill Gibbs of Glendale. Libertarian: Dennis Descherd of Rosemead.*

For some reason, veteran incumbent Moorhead always seems to draw a crowd. Two years ago he swept aside his primary opposition, but polled a surprisingly weak 50 percent in the general election against computer typographer Doug Kahn. Kahn is back and is the best funded and best known of three Democrats. While he had three GOP challengers last time, this year only businesswoman Elizabeth Michael has stepped forward. Michael is shooting for a strong vote among moderate women, as Moorhead is considered one of the more conservative members in the caucus. Despite some early hints of help from outside the district, however, Michael appears to lack steam.

DISTRICT 28 (41% D - 46% R) — *Democrat: Tommy Randle of San Dimas. Republican: Incumbent David Dreier of Covina. Libertarian: Jorj Clayton Baker of Pasadena.*

Democrats need not apply in this suburban district at the foot of the San Gabriel Mountains, which went for George Bush in 1992. Dreier is a rock-solid incumbent.

DISTRICT 29 (58% D - 27% R) — *Democrats: Jon Rappoport and incumbent Henry Waxman, both of Los Angeles. Republicans: Patrick Regan of Santa Monica and Paul Stepanek of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Michael Binkley of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Nancy Lawrence of Los Angeles.*

Incumbent Waxman won the toss among Westside Democrats when redistricting gave him a large registration advantage that has only gotten bigger. This year, he has drawn primary opposition from investigative reporter Rappaport. Among Republicans, businessman Stepanek seems to have a better organization than film director Regan, meaning that he actually has an organization.

DISTRICT 30 (61% D - 23% R) — *Democrats: Incumbent Xavier Becerra and Oscar Valdes. Republican: David Ramirez. Libertarian: R. William Weilburg. All of Los Angeles.*

At 36, Becerra is an incumbent Latino congressman in a largely Latino district. Neither primary opponent Valdes nor Republican Ramirez will disrupt his charmed political life.

DISTRICT 31 (58% D - 28% R) — *Democrats: Maria Escalante of Industry; Bonifacio "Bonny" Garcia of San Gabriel; incumbent Matthew Martinez of Alhambra; and David Romero of Los Angeles. Republicans: Tom Dominy of San Gabriel and John Flores of Commerce.*

With his reputation as a lightweight with a poor attendance record, Martinez always seems to draw attention at primary time, despite his alliance with the Berman-Waxman operation. This year, as in 1992, his main challenge comes from attorney Garcia, who polled 25 percent two years ago. Garcia is better organized than in '92, but apparently not much better funded. Educator Escalante is part of a loose coalition of Democratic malcontents dissatisfied with Martinez. The incumbent can count on help from Washington if he needs it, however, and with two serious opponents splitting the opposition, Martinez should survive the primary. Neither GOP contender has much chance against Martinez.

DISTRICT 32 (76% D - 13% R) — *Democrats: Incumbent Julian Dixon and Gordon Yaker, both of Los Angeles; and Peter Duvall of Inglewood. Republicans: Mike Cyrus and Ernie Farhat, both of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: John Honigsfeld of Los Angeles.*

Even-keeled seven-termer Dixon faces some uncharacteristic primary opposition, but neither art restoration specialist Duvall nor retired businessman Yaker poses much of a threat.

DISTRICT 33 (66% D - 20% R) — *Democrats: Charles Greene and incumbent Lucille Roybal-Allard, both of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Kermit Booker of Long Beach.*

Roybal-Allard faces only token opposition in the primary from Greene, a member of the Senior Legislature.

DISTRICT 34 (62% D - 28% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Esteban Torres of Industry. Republican: Albert Nunez of Brea. Libertarian: Carl Swinney of Whittier.*

As usual, six-termer Torres draws no primary opposition in this solidly Democratic and Latino district.

DISTRICT 35 (80% D - 11% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Maxine Waters of Los Angeles. Republican: Nate Truman of Los Angeles.*

The fiery Waters owns the most Democratic district in the entire state, and two years ago turned her attention to rebuilding after the riots and serving the Clinton campaign. This year she'll concentrate on raising the hackles of her congressional colleagues with few worries about her chances of returning.

DISTRICT 36 (42% D - 43% R) — *Democrat: Jane Harman of Los Angeles.*

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Republicans: Susan Brooks of Torrance and Ron Florance of Palos Verdes Estates. American Independent: Joseph Fields of San Pedro. Libertarian: Jack Tyler of Redondo Beach.

Harman's 1992 victory was probably among the bitterest defeat for Republicans in a year of bitter defeats. Facing a district with a decided Republican advantage, the independently wealthy Democrat easily dispatched her primary opponents in the open seat race, while the Republican primary turned into an ideological fight over abortion between the pro-choice Maureen Reagan and pro-life Joan Milke Flores. When Flores won, the moderate pro-choice Harman was an appealing place for disgruntled Reagan voters to land, and she beat the Republican going away. This year's GOP field is much smaller, pitting Rancho Palos Verdes Councilwoman Brooks against a former councilman from that district, Florance, who has seeded his campaign with $150,000 of his own money and appears to have contacts both with national GOP types and with the local Perot organization. He also has the advantage of being pro-choice, which made a difference in '92. Brooks, a one-time mayor of Rancho Palos Verdes, got the early jump in fund raising and organization, however, and is already attacking Florance for alleged involvement in shady real-estate deals — which Florance denies. Florance has the money, Brooks the instincts and the race is too close to call. The winner can expect strong help in November from Washington, which desperately wants to win back this seat.

DISTRICT 37 (77% D - 13% R) — *Democrats: Lew Prulitsky of Rancho Palos Verdes and incumbent Walter Tucker III of Compton. Libertarian: Guy Wilson of San Pedro.*

Only Maxine Waters' district is more Democratic than this enclave which includes Watts and Compton, and the GOP didn't even bother to field a candidate against incumbent Tucker. Underfunded real-estate broker Lew Prulitsky is all that stands between Tucker and another term, but, believe it or not, there is a cloud on the horizon. The *Los Angeles Times* has reported that Tucker is one of several public officials under investigation in a Shrimpscam-style undercover operation into corruption in Compton, where he served as mayor in 1991-92.

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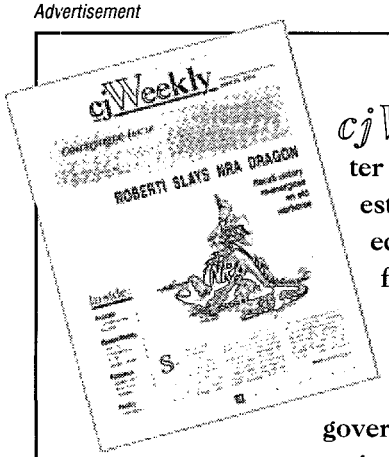

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DISTRICT 38 (50% D - 37% R) — *Democrat: Peter Mathews. Republicans: John Duke and incumbent Steve Horn. Libertarian: Lester Mueller. Peace and Freedom: Richard Green. All of Long Beach.*

Democrats dislike Horn's presence in the House almost as much as Republicans dislike Jane Harman's. Unlike the Republicans, however, they don't seem to be doing much about it. The moderate former professor faces only token opposition in the primary, then lines up against American government professor Peter Mathews in the general.

DISTRICT 39 (40% D - 48% R) — *Democrat: Bob Davis of Buena Park. Republican: Incumbent Ed Royce of Fullerton. Libertarian: Jack Dean of Fullerton.*

Royce, a former state senator, will hold this district until the Cubs win another World Series.

DISTRICT 40 (40% D - 47% R) — *Democrats: Kevin Biggers of Apple Valley and Don Rusk of Redlands. Republicans: Incumbent Jerry Lewis of Redlands; George Craig of Apple Valley; John Henderson of Redlands; and Richard Schmitter of Victorville.*

Incumbent Lewis has represented the outback of San Bernardino County for 16 years now and he has had a comfortable fit. But Lewis has always been a political insider, and lately he's been under attack from hard-line Republicans who think he's been too accommodating with Democrats. His GOP comrades may have taken his leadership post, but he's still a strong force in his home district. His three opponents could offer a threat — if they were one person. Instead, voters looking for an I'm-not-Jerry-Lewis candidate have several to choose from, making Lewis' chances of victory even stronger. For the Democrats, Rusk has a geographic advantage over Biggers, but neither have a chance in November.

DISTRICT 41 (40% D - 48% R) — *Democrats: Ed Tessier of Pomona; Richard Waldron of Anaheim. Republicans: Incumbent Jay Kim of Ontario; Ronald Curtis of Upland; Bob Kerns of Ontario; and Valerie Romero and Todd Thakar of Newport Beach.*

In 1992, the Korean-born Kim jumped into a wide-open race for the new CD 41, created by reapportionment. After heavily outspending four

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opponents — two of whom where thought to be the favorites — in the primary, the former Diamond Bar mayor narrowly won the Republican nomination, then easily beat his Democratic opponent. But a *Los Angeles Times* expose on alleged corporate funding of Kim's campaign made the new congressman the target of FEC complaints, a grand jury and an FBI investigation. Kim, the first Korean ever to serve in Congress, has maintained his innocence, and as of mid-April, the FEC had not filed any charges nor dismissed the case. But two GOP challengers who might have successfully taken on Kim, Assemblyman Paul Horcher and attorney James Lacy, who filed an FEC complaint after losing to Kim in 1992, both declined to run. Of Kim's four GOP challengers, Romero has the easiest access to cash from her father, Dick Romero, who owns a car dealership and is a well-known big-bucks contributor in political circles. Otherwise, Kim's GOP opponents are relatively low profile, and Kim will probably win, investigation or no investigation. Among the Democrats, Baker has the most political experience; he lost to Kim in 1992 by 18 percent.

DISTRICT 42 (53% D - 37% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent George Brown Jr. of Colton. Republicans: Rob Guzman of Rancho Cucamonga; Denis LaBine; and Manuel Sanchez of Rialto.*

Brown has been around in Congress for a long time — since 1962, to be exact. And he's pretty darn powerful as chairman of the House Science, Space and Technology Committee. But his district has slipped steadily toward the GOP, and over the years Brown has had to defeat a stream of well-financed conservative GOP candidates. In addition, his chairmanship has actually lost his district projects and grants as congressional collegues have forced him to live by his criticism of others earmarking projects for their own districts. This election, three Republicans are ready to battle it out for a chance at 70-year old, cigar-chomping Brown. Guzman, a Latino with an aristocratic air, has the most cohesive campaign. And he's run before, losing to Congresswoman Lucille Roybal-Allard in CD 33 in 1992. But that was in East Los Angeles, and now Guzman could be labeled a carpetbagger. Sanchez may pull a few Latino votes away from Guzman, but there aren't too many Latino Republicans around. LaBine, a Ross Perot supporter upset about Brown's pro-NAFTA vote, won't make strides in the pro-business San Bernardino district. But outsider or not, the GOP will come gunning for Brown, and the Republican primary winner, most likely Guzman, should lack for nothing in November.

DISTRICT 43 (42% D - 46% R) — *Democrats: Mark Takano and Raven Workman. Republicans: Incumbent Ken Calvert and Joseph Khoury. Libertarian: Gene Berkman. All from Riverside.*

Does this race look familiar? It's the same cast of characters — minus about 11 also-rans, who two years ago were trying to win what was then an open seat. Calvert eked out a 500-vote win over Takano, after coming out ahead of Khoury and six others in the primary. This time around, only Khoury's back. But since then, Calvert was caught by Corona police in his car last November with a self-described "off-duty prostitute." Police apparently tried to hush things up, but that's only made things worse, and now the story won't die. Conventional wisdom is that Calvert is out, either to Khoury or the winning Democrat. Workman, who ran last time, is chairwoman of the Riverside County Democratic Party and is likely to get support from women's groups, but heavyweights might be more inclined to support Takano, who has shown to be a formidible force against Calvert in the past. Sex and politics, what more could a political junkie want?

DISTRICT 44 (45% D - 44% R) — *Democrats: Steve Clute of Moreno Valley; Clark McCartney of Cathedral City; and Hans Alfred Schroeder of North Palm Springs. Republicans: Sonny Bono of Palm Springs; Phil Brez of Rancho Mirage; Kent DeLong of Banning; Patricia "Corky" Larson of Palm Springs; Bud Mathewson of Banning; and Lewis Silva of Palm Springs. American Independent: Donald Cochran of Moreno Valley.*

When GOP Congressman Al McCandless said he was retiring earlier this year, Republican candidates came out of the sand. One, Bono, even abandoned a statewide race. Despite his spacey image and low-budget commercials for teeth products, Bono was regarded as the early front-runner given his financial resources and popularity as ex-mayor of Palm Springs. He's even corralled Bruce Herschenson as his campaign chairman. Enter Larson. She's

Bono

Clute

represented the area on the board of supervisors, has high name recognition, and is known as a "desert rat" — just the type of candidate that a desert district loves. Larson is expected to have pennies next to Bono's resources but should give him a run. Mathewson, who's been running for one thing or another for years, could gather up a few votes as well; he ran in 1990 and got 27 percent in the primary against McCandless. On the Democratic side, Clute is thought to have an edge, given that the congressional district covers much of his old, pre-reapportionment Assembly district. McCartney lost in the 1992 primary. Schroeder is new to the area and unknown. Clute would have a better chance against Bono than Larson, considering the former's no-substance Hollywood image and the latter's suitability to the district.

DISTRICT 45 (35% D - 51% R) — *Democrat: Brett Williamson of Huntington Beach. Republican: Incumbent Dana Rohrabacher of Lomita.*

CD 45 is so Republican that former Reagan speechwriter Rohrabacher would have to commit multiple felonies to blow this one.

DISTRICT 46 (47% D - 42% R) — *Democrats: Madelene Arakelian of Irvine; Robert Banuelos of Santa Ana; Norman Eckenrode of Brea; Michael Farber of Santa Ana; John Ivler of Los Alamitos; and Don Payne of Irvine. Republican: Incumbent Bob Dornan of Garden Grove.*

Democrats have been wanting to take this seat from conservative Dornan for years. And Dornan, a former fighter pilot well known for his combative behavior, has been providing plenty of ammunition. Democrats are hoping this year will be the turning point in a district with a growing minority population. Farber had the most money and polished campaign from the get-go, but two years ago he was living in San Diego, losing elections there, and opponents could hit him for being a carbetbagger. Arakelian, who has ties

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to large garbage-collection industries, got into the race at the last minute and may have the ability to loan herself a chunk of cash, or raise it from the Armenian community. The other Democrats lack money or a serious campaign organization.

DISTRICT 47 (30% D - 55% R) — *Democrat: Gary Kingbury of Irvine. Republicans: Incumbent Christopher Cox of Newport Beach and Steven Frogue of Santa Ana. Libertarian: Victor Wagner of Mission Viejo.*

The district is solidly Republican.

DISTRICT 48 (30% D - 55% R) — *Democrat: Andrei Leschick of Valley Center. Republicans: Incumbent Ron Packard of Carlsbad and Ed Mayerhofer of Mission Viejo. Peace and Freedom: Donna White of San Diego.*

Packard, only the fourth person to serve in Congress after winning a write-in campaign, shouldn't have any trouble against Mayerhofer in June or Democrat Leschick in November.

DISTRICT 49 (D 39% - R 42%) — *Democrat: Incumbent Lynn Schenk of La Jolla. Republicans: Brian Bilbray of San Diego; Scot Conway of San Diego; Ted Joseph of San Diego; and John Steel of San Diego. Libertarian: Chris Hoogenboom of La Jolla. Peace and Freedom: Renate Kline of Spring Valley.*

By registration, this should be a Republican district, and national Republicans have placed it high on their priority list. But party loyalty is shallow in San Diego, which also has shown a penchant for tossing out incumbents. That incumbent now is Schenk, a Democratic cash machine who hasn't made much of a dent in congressional ranks during her first term. She defeated Republican Judy Jarvis in 1992 by outspending her seven-to-one, and now Republicans think they can take the district if their candidate has enough money. Also, if Bilbray wins the primary, the GOP will have a candidate who can match Schenk in name recognition, given his long and popular tenure on the San Diego Board of Supervisors. Jarvis was virtually unknown when she challenged Schenk. Schenk will have a large bankroll once again, thanks to the chits owed her from years of fund raising on behalf of others and her support from EMILY'S List and other women's groups. The national priority means the GOP will match Schenk's bankroll.

DISTRICT 50 (51% D - 34% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Bob Filner from San Diego. Republican: Mary Alice Acevedo of Bonita. Green: Kep Krueger of San Diego. Libertarian: Richardo Duenez of San Ysidro.*

Freshman incumbent Filner shouldn't have any trouble.

DISTRICT 51 (31% D - 51% R) — *Democrats: Steve Perry and Rita Tamerius, both of Carlsbad. Republicans: Incumbent Randy Cunningham of San Marcos and Donald Pando of Solana Beach. Libertarian: Bill Holmes of Escondido. Peace and Freedom: Miriam Clark of Escondido.*

Perry will most likely edge out Tamerius, but neither has a chance in the fall.

DISTRICT 52 (39% D - 45% R) — *Democrats: Gary Brown of El Cajon; and Brian Cochran and Janet Gastil of La Mesa. Republican: Incumbent Duncan Hunter of Coronado.*

Despite his 399 bounced checks at the now-defunct congressional bank two years ago, Hunter came out of the 1992 general election only mildly ruffled.

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State Senate

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The Senate's electoral map always is somewhat disjointed and confused during a reapportionment because only half of the upper house stands for election every two years. Thus in 1992, the first election under the redistricting of 1991, only odd-numbered districts were involved. For the past two years, senators in even-numbered districts still represented those drawn in 1983. This year, however, the new landscape doesn't look very cheery for the Democrats. Currently, Democrats control 22 of the 40 state Senate seats. Unfortunately for them, 14 of those seats are up this year. Furthermore, several districts have been drastically changed by reapportionment since the election of 1990. The numbers present a daunting challenge for new Senate President pro Tempore Bill Lockyer, who took over the post only last February. Lockyer has taken to carting around a series of charts to show whoever is interested just how tough a task he faces in his rookie year as leader. There is a reasonable chance that Democratic control could slip below a majority, which means, at the least, Democrats would have to rely on the Senate's two independents, Lucy Killea of San Diego and Quentin Kopp of San Francisco, to retain control.

Lockyer's problems start in Riverside County, where a district long held by Democrat Robert Presley probably now is firmly in the GOP camp. Democrat Gary Hart also gave up his Santa Barbara seat this year, creating a potential opening for a Republican. But here Democrats are blessed by having Assemblyman Jack O'Connell, who's used to running against registration, as a candidate. In addition, several incumbents face potential troubles in vastly different districts. Dan McCorquodale's district has shifted away from the Bay Area and toward the Central Valley; Ralph Dills has new voters to face in the southern part of Los Angles County; Steve Peace won a special election in San Diego County last December, but the new district he faces now is more Republican; and Herschel Rosenthal, after wandering loose for two years, finally is making a run in a San Fernando Valley district being vacated by former pro tem David Roberti.

But Democrats will have their shots, too. Phil Wyman won a special election in a Bakersfield district that's been changed so that it's nearly 60 percent Democratic. And they can even take reasonable shots at unseating conservatives Maurice Johannessen and Rob Hurtt. Catching Hurtt would be especially sweet, since he is a major financier for conservative candidates. Still, the prospects are not good for the Democrats, and the Senate races this year give the GOP their best chance in years to win control of a house of the Legislature.

DISTRICT 2 (55% D - 31% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Mike Thompson of St. Helena. Republican: Frank McMichael of Ukiah. Peace and Freedom: Pamela Elizondo of Laytonville.*

Thompson used to represent the old SD 4. But last year, he jumped into a special election for SD 2 after Democrat Barry Keene resigned. At the time, Thompson came under fire from both Republicans and Democrats. Republicans grumped that his jump caused taxpayers to pony up for yet another special election in SD 4. Some local Democrats, notably Assemblyman Dan Hauser, grumped that the move preempted their ambitions. For his part, Thompson had little choice. His home, previously in SD 4, ended up in this district after reapportionment. He won a squeaker in the old SD 2 special, but his GOP opponent — contractor Margie Handley — isn't in the hunt this time around. McMichael, his Republican opponent, is a Mendocino County supervisor.

DISTRICT 4 (48% D - 38% R) — *Democrats: Michael McGowan of West Sacramento and Montana Podva of Arbuckle. Republican: Incumbent Maurice Johannessen of Redding.*

Johannessen, a conservative former Shasta County supervisor, won this seat in a November special election when he defeated Podva. But the main race was in the August primary when he handily beat former Assemblywoman Bev Hansen. The special election was held last year to fill the opening left when Democrat Mike Thompson was elected to neighboring SD 2 (see above). On the Democratic side, McGowan, the first mayor of the new city of West Sacramento and currently a Yolo County supervisor, is the apparent front-runner against Podva, who is a former law clerk for the late Justice William O. Douglas.

DISTRICT 6 (54% D - 34% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Leroy Greene of Carmichael. Republican: Dave Cox of Fair Oaks.*

Greene, 76, has been a state senator for 32 years and has a reputation as a tough campaigner, but he faces a formidable opponent in Sacramento County Supervisor Cox. Cox has hired Jim Nygren, who ran the successful campaigns of Assemblyman Larry Bowler in AD 10 and state Senator Tim Leslie in SD 1, to run his campaign.

DISTRICT 8 (58% D - 24% R) — *Democrat: Patrick Fitzgerald of San Francisco. Republicans: Judy Lea of San Mateo and Tom Spinosa of San Francisco. Libertarian: Mark Valverde of San Francisco.*

Incumbent Quentin Kopp's name does not appear on the ballot because there's no primary for independents, but none of those on either ballot appear to be much of a threat to him.

DISTRICT 10 (55% D - 30% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Bill Lockyer of Hayward. Republicans: Melba I. Forsberg of Pleasanton and Anthony R. Smith Sr. of Hayward.*

Lockyer should have little trouble.

DISTRICT 12 (51% D - 38% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Dan McCorquodale of Modesto. Republican: Richard Monteith of Modesto. Libertarian: Linda Marie de Groat of Modesto.*

McCorquodale, who was elected to the state Senate in 1982, faces Monteith, the general manager of a packaging company. Monteith, who is hitting the crime issue hard, already has

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gotten $10,000 from the conservative-oriented Allied Business PAC. If Republicans hope to take over the Senate some day, this district would have to be on their list.

DISTRICT 14 (43% D - 46% R) — *Democrat: Tony Hagopian of Fresno. Republican: Incumbent Kenneth Maddy of Fresno.*

No fireworks here.

DISTRICT 16 (59% D - 31% R) — *Democrat: Jim Costa of Fresno. Republican: Incumbent Phil Wyman of Hanford.*

This race is a rematch between two controversial candidates who faced off in a special election last March. Wyman won that special election and has the advantage of incumbency this time around. But Costa also represents half the district — as an assemblyman — and redistricting has substantially changed the political landscape to favor the Democrat. Democratic registration shifted from 48 percent to 59 percent with the change from the pre-reapportionment district used in the special election to the post-reapportionment district now in place. The Wyman campaign already is hitting Costa over the recent break-in at his home, when police found marijuana and drug paraphernalia. Costa claimed the burglars left them there, but the Wyman camp plans to keep the story alive. Democrats say that if there was anything to forgive Costa for, it was forgiven long ago when he was arrested for trying to hire two prostitutes. In any case, they say, Wyman has liabilities too; the chief one being that he's moved around a lot during his political career, which began in the Assembly representing San Bernardino County. He lost a congressional primary in CD 25 in 1992 which is centered in Los Angeles County's Santa Clarita Valley, then won his current Senate seat.

DISTRICT 18 (44% D - 41% R) — *Democrat: Jack O'Connell of Santa Barbara; Republicans: Steve Decker of Santa Barbara and Steve MacElvaine of Morro Bay.*

Both parties will go all out in the fall to capture this seat being vacated by Democrat Gary Hart. While O'Connell, a skillful fund raiser, has the Democratic primary to himself, the GOP contest pits MacElvaine, a coastal commissioner and San Luis Obispo County supervisor, against Decker, a wealthy Montecito businessman. Decker says he was recruited to run by Senator Rob Hurtt, whose Allied Business PAC is known for backing Christian conservatives. However, Decker had received no money from that source by mid-March. MacElvaine says that's because he went to Hurtt, asked for his support and passed Hurtt's test for compatibility with the district.

DISTRICT 20 (58% D-29% R) — *Democrats: Michael Del Rio of Marina Del Rey and incumbent Herschel Rosenthal of Los Angeles. Republicans: Al Dib of North Hollywood; Randy Linkmeyer of Canoga Park; Larry Martz of Van Nuys; and Dolores White of Reseda.*

This little old working class San Fernando Valley district has seen more action in the last two years than most other areas have gotten since California became a state. First, the man who had represented the district for more than a decade — Alan Robbins — went to prison. Then the leader of the Senate — David Roberti — moved in to run for the seat in a special election and had to spend a couple of million bucks to keep from being run out. To top it off, Roberti, forced to vacate the seat this year by term limits, was subjected to a recall initiated by pro-gun forces angry about his co-authorship of the state's ban on assault weapons. Roberti's win in the recall gives a boost to veteran incumbent Rosenthal, who moved into the district to make his farewell run for office. Rosenthal got another break when former Democratic Assemblyman Jim Keysor opted out of the race, leaving only law student Michael Del Rio, who lost to Roberti in the 1992 special. To top off Rosenthal's good fortune, moderate Republican David Honda failed to qualify for the GOP primary, leaving four candidates, all of whom were tied in one way or another to the recall. White polled 10 percent in the 1992 special election and was the leading Republican in the recall. Dib and Linkmeyer bought spots touting their candidacies on local cable television outlets, and Dib did an absentee ballot mailing in the ultimately meaningless recall contest. Rosenthal, whose 1992 bid to switch districts was foiled by Tom Hayden, can expect to face the same grumpiness about carpetbagging that caused Roberti problems in 1992, but he has represented about half the district in the past. With the recall effort generally discredited as a waste of time and money, Rosenthal should take out whomever emerges from the GOP race.

DISTRICT 22 (63% D - 21% R) — *Democrats: Yolanda Gonzales and Richard Polanco. Republican: Yong Tai Lee. Libertarian: Vincent Way. Peace and Freedom: Pearl Wolff. All of Los Angeles.*

When it was centered in the Valley and the West Side, the district was represented by Herschel Rosenthal, but reapportionment created a brand-new SD 22, concentrating much of heavily Latino East Los Angeles. The change gives Assemblyman Polanco a chance to fend off term limits for another eight years and continue to build his political fiefdom. With area Senator Art Torres taking his act statewide, Polanco has become a leader of an increasingly powerful faction of local Latino politicians. In '92, Polanco's faction did battle with a group headed by Supervisor Gloria Molina, winning all but one of the seven legislative races they contested. Molina's apparent decision to lay low in legislative races makes things considerably easier for Polanco. Primary opponent Gonzales until this year worked in the office of then-President pro Tem David Roberti, but Roberti is endorsing Polanco.

DISTRICT 24 (58% D - 29% R) — *Democrats: Joseph Chavez of Hacienda Heights; Eugene Moses of Azusa; and Hilda Solis of El Monte. Republican: Dave Boyer of Azusa. Libertarian: George Feger of Monterey Park.*

Although Art Torres' old district shifts more toward the San Gabriel Valley, it is still fairly safe for a Democrat, and the candidate anointed by the party appears to be Solis, a rookie assemblywoman. Moses, the mayor of Azusa, has been running for the seat for a year and had built up enough of an organization to make himself credible. He wasn't too happy when Solis stepped in, but as a former leader of a "Democrats for Mountjoy" campaign, Moses' complaints have fallen on deaf ears. Chavez is not considered a factor, nor will Republican Boyer be one in the general.

DISTRICT 26 (80% D - 11% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Diane Watson. Republicans: Lynne Davidson and Joe*

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Piechowski. Libertarian: Bob Weber. Peace and Freedom: Yassin Saededdin. All of Los Angeles.

When she narrowly lost her race for the Board of Supervisors two years ago, Watson could at least take comfort in returning to the most Democratic Senate district in the state — renumbered from 28 to 26.

DISTRICT 28 (52% D - 33% R) — *Democrats: Incumbent Ralph Dills of Gardena; George Nakano of Torrance; Jo Ann Rodda of Manhattan Beach; and Mike Sidley of Venice. Republican: David Barrett Cohen of Redondo Beach. Libertarian: Neal Donner of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Cindy Henderson of Los Angeles.*

When Dills was first elected to the Legislature, Orson Welles was a radio personality, *Gone With The Wind* was a book, and when people talked about "the War," they meant World War I. At a time when he should be writing his memoirs, however, Dills faces re-election in a far less friendly district than the one he has represented in the past, combining African-American areas of Carson, Wilmington and Long Beach with more affluent beach communities. The octogenarian incumbent's first challenge comes from Torrance Councilman Nakano, who is only too happy to make Dills' age an issue. Nakano took out more than $100,000 in loans and hired on Garamendi campaign guru Darry Sragow. Senate Democrats have promised Dills whatever he needs moneywise, however, and Dills has his own heavyweight consultant in Richie Ross. Beating Nakano won't end Dills' problems, however. Redondo Beach attorney David Barrett Cohen polled 37 percent of the vote in a 1990 run for Congress against then-Congressman Mel Levine, and has strong ties to Carson's Samoan community. While he hasn't raised much so far, the registration numbers could cause the GOP to give the race a look, especially if Nakano roughs up or beats Dills in the primary.

DISTRICT 30 (65% D - 25% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Charles Calderon of Montebello. Republican: Ken Gow of Whittier.*

New district number, same great location for Calderon.

DISTRICT 32 (53% D - 37% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Senator Ruben Ayala of Rancho Cucamonga. Republican: Earl De Vries of Ontario.*

Incumbent Ayala got lucky this time around — the Republicans were asleep at the wheel and aren't running a formidable candidate against him in a district that could go to the GOP.

DISTRICT 34 (46% D - 42% R) — *Democrats: Donna Chessen of Garden Grove and Wayman Nelson of Santa Ana. Republicans: Incumbent Rob Hurtt of Garden Grove and Frank Adomitis of Anaheim. Libertarian: Thomas Reimer of Orange.*

Business owner, political kingmaker and former Allied Business PAC member Hurtt had a smooth ride into office in a special election last year, but that was in a pre-reapportionment district with a very different population. Given Hurtt's money and Adomitis' lack of exposure, Hurtt has the nomination locked up. Garden Grove Councilwoman Chessen probably will be the Democratic nominee. Given Hurtt's ability to raise money, he should be safe in November but Democrats may be anxious to have him spend some of his resources here instead of elsewhere in the state.

DISTRICT 36 (39% D - 48% R) — *Democrats: Kay Ceniceros of Riverside and Tyrone Powell of Corona. Republicans: Cois Byrd of Riverside and Ray Haynes of Temecula. Libertarian: David Sarosi of Mira Loma.*

Haynes

SD 36 is currently the home of Democratic Senator Bob Presley, who's held the district for decades despite a growing GOP electorate. But after redistricting, the new 36th is overwhelmingly Republican and contains new suburban communities where Presley is a virtual unknown. Presley decided it was a good time to run for the state Board of Equalization, leaving the district open for a Republican. Freshman Assemblyman Haynes, an arch-conservative with religious-right connections, seemed like a logical successor until moderate Byrd decided to run. A popular local sheriff, Byrd is expected to capitalize on Haynes' conservatism and the electorate's anti-crime fervor. He's been able to compete with Haynes' cash loans from Allied Business PAC — in part due to Haynes' $100,000 debt from his 1992 Assembly victory. The Republican establishment here is moderate, and they've chaffed at the thought of upstart conservative victories. They see Byrd as a chance to regain control. But Democrats haven't given up yet. They believe that County Supervisor Ceniceros, who should have little trouble winning the primary, will be a formidable opponent for Haynes. Should the more moderate Byrd get the nomination, however, the prospects for Ceniceros are less bright.

DISTRICT 38 (31% D - 52% R) — *Democrats: Thomas Berry of Laguna Hills and Genaro Lara of Encinitas. Republican: Incumbent Bill Craven of Oceanside. Libertarian August Anderson of Encinitas. Peace and Freedom: Mary Ann Nikl of Carlsbad.*

Craven will have no problem overcoming either Lara or Berry.

DISTRICT 40 (46% D - 39% R) — *Democrats: Incumbent Steve Peace of Chula Vista and Lincoln Pickard of San Diego. Republican: Joe Ghougassian of Chula Vista. Libertarian: Ben Gibbs of Chula Vista. Peace and Freedom: Elena Smith Pelayo of Chula Vista.*

When former Democratic Senator Waddie Deddeh retired last summer, Assemblyman Steve Peace was thought to have an easy time in the special election. But a slew of Democrats on the ballot prevented him from gaining a majority in the primary, forcing a special general election in late December. Republicans took a good look at the registration and decided to give Peace a run for his money with Ghougassian, a former ambassador under Ronald Reagan. Peace won, but not until the two candidates set records for local election spending. Republicans vowed to come back with Ghougassian this year, especially since the district changed because of redistricting and picked up the conservative city of El Cajon. But Republicans don't have the advantage of low voter turnout of a special, and Peace is well known as a conservative Democrat.

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Assembly

The election of 1994 is both a watershed and a slice of electoral history for the Assembly. When it is over and the new members are seated this December, more than two-thirds of them will have been elected since passage of Proposition 140 in 1990. Many veterans, with one term remaining before term limits kick in, are leaving the Assembly this year either to retire or to run for some other office. Notable among them are the Democratic chairs of several key committees: Delaine Eastin of Education, Rusty Areias of Agriculture, Burt Margolin of Health, Gwen Moore of Utilities and Commerce, Tom Umberg of Environmental Safety, Mike Gotch of Local Government and Johan Klehs of Revenue and Taxation. Also leaving are former Democratic Caucus Chairman Jim Costa, Speaker pro Tempore Jack O'Connell and Latino Caucus Chairman Richard Polanco. Republican veterans Bill Jones, Gil Ferguson, Dean Andal, Stan Statham, Chuck Quackenbush, Paul Woodruff and Bob Frazee also will be gone when the Assembly convenes.

And because of term limits, 1994 also marks the final Assembly election for some of its most powerful and venerable members — those who two years from now will leave and bear with them the house's institutional memory and the bulk of its policy experience — Majority Leader Tom Hannigan, Judiciary Committee Chairman Phil Isenberg, Natural Resources Committee Chairman Byron Sher, Transportation Committee Chairman Richard Katz, Rules Committee Chairman John Burton, Minority Leader Jim Brulte and GOP warhorses Ross Johnson and Trice Harvey.

And then there is Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr., who also will be running for the last time. In the era of term limits, it is likely that no future speaker — certainly, no other single member — will wield the influence and power that Brown has exercised in his 14-year tenure as leader of the Assembly.

DISTRICT 1 (54% D - 31% R) — *Democrats: Incumbent Dan Hauser of Arcata and Karen Peterson Scott of Gualala. Republican: John Baird of Willits. Libertarian: Charles Harris of Fulton.*

Such is the nature of this politically schizophrenic Redwood Empire district that Hauser always seems to attract some sort of interesting opposition. This year, it's Scott, vice chair of the state Democratic Party Rural Caucus and president of the Mendocino County Commission on the Status of Women. She is co-owner of a small real estate company who hopes to win the support of environmentalists and feminists. But her campaign is low-budget and long-shot.

DISTRICT 2 (44% D - 43% R) — *Democrat: James Bainbridge of Redding. Republicans: Burton Bundy of Los Molinos and Tom Woods of Shasta. Libertarian: Fredrick Schwartz of Yuba City.*

Stan Statham is leaving this rural, Republican-leaning Northern California seat after 18 years to run for lieutenant governor. He has endorsed Woods, his former field representative who now is station manager and a former announcer for KVIP radio in Redding. Woods has hired political consultant Wayne Johnson to run his campaign, a move that in recent years has spelled success for area conservatives. Woods' GOP opponent, Bundy, is a former Tehama County supervisor who now works as the marketing manager for a timber products company and who also owns a catfish ranch. Bundy has hired Jim Nygren, who guided Republican Larry Bowler to victory in 1992 in AD 10. Bundy's support will come from the timber industry, agriculture and business community. The Democrat is Bainbridge, a Redding businessman making his first run for public office.

DISTRICT 3 (43% D - 42% R) — *Democrat: Jim Chapman of Susanville. Republican: Incumbent Bernie Richter of Chico.*

Seven Republicans vied for the nomination for this northeast corner district two years ago, but Richter, a former Butte County supervisor and owner of video and convenience markets, has it all to himself now.

DISTRICT 4 (41% D - 46% R) — *Democrats: Charles Fish of Meadow Vista and Mark Norberg of Roseville. Republicans: Incumbent David Knowles of Placerville and Mark Klang of Cool.*

Knowles, a conservative who's had considerable backing from groups opposing abortion and gun control, shouldn't have trouble defeating either Klang or the Democrats.

DISTRICT 5 (45% D - 43% R) — *Democrats: Joan Barry of Orangevale and Linda Davis of Fair Oaks. Republican: Incumbent Barbara Alby of Fair Oaks.*

That large groan you heard last fall was from Democrats, who thought they had a winner for this seat but were disappointed when their candidate — S. David Freeman, general manager of the Sacramento Municipal Utility District — decided instead to take a job in New York. Thus, the Democrats' groan no doubt was accompanied by a sigh of relief from the incumbent, who's endured some tough races in her three bouts for Assembly. She twice lost primaries to the late B.T. Collins before finally winning a special election called after Collins died last year. With Freeman out, the remaining Democrats are Barry, executive director of a non-profit organization that serves meals to seniors; and Davis, a SMUD director and an engineer with the Energy Commission. Davis lost to Barry in the special primary before Barry lost the run off to Alby.

DISTRICT 6 (54% D - 30% R) — *Democrats: Incumbent Vivien Bronshvag of Kentfield; Kerry Mazzoni of Novato. Republican: Brian Sobel of Petaluma. Peace and Freedom: Coleman Persily of San Rafael.*

Mazzoni

Bronshvag

Few first-term legislators have acquired as much baggage as quickly as Bronshvag. A wealthy interior decorator married to a neurosurgeon, she

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acquired the nickname "the duchess" among Capitol staffers who felt she treated them like serfs. Then a speeding ticket cost her a suspended driver's license and prompted the nickname "the flying duchess." On the surface, Bronshvag looks vulnerable in her second race, before she's had a chance to consolidate her base. In fact, Bronshvag has drawn a strong primary opponent in Mazzoni, a well-known Novato school board member. Bronshvag is taking the challenge seriously, but Mazzoni has to be viewed as a long shot. She'll have a hard time raising enough money to be competitive with Bronshvag, who spent $633,000 in 1992, $300,000 of it from her own purse. And if it looks like Bronshvag is in trouble, the speaker is almost certain to come to her aid. Local Republicans are itching for a November battle between Bronshvag and Sobel, a Petaluma councilman and businessman.

DISTRICT 7 (56% D - 32% R) — *Democrats: Incumbent Valerie Brown of Sonoma and Ernest Demuth of American Canyon. Republicans: Tom Riley of St. Helena and Roger Williams of Sonoma. Peace and Freedom: Irv Sutley of Glen Ellen.*

Brown's victory in 1992 over Republican Janet Nicholas, a former Sonoma County supervisor, was boosted by one of the most impressive voter-registration drives by Democrats that year. She shouldn't have trouble holding the seat.

DISTRICT 8 (52% D - 33% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Tom Hannigan of Fairfield. Republicans: Gary Clift and Bryant Stocking, both of Vacaville.*

This is the first time in a while that this district has seen a contested Republican primary, but the outcome won't much matter.

DISTRICT 9 (65% D - 24% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Phil Isenberg. Republican: Beth Lofton. Both of Sacramento.*

Isenberg, an attorney and former Sacramento mayor, has represented Sacramento since 1982.

DISTRICT 10 (46% D - 43% R) — *Democrat: T. Kathleen Wishnick of Elk Grove. Republican: Incumbent Larry Bowler of Sacramento. American Independent: John Rakus of Sacramento.*

After a few years of trying, Bowler finally won himself a spot in the Assembly in 1992 by outdistancing four other GOP wanna-bes, then thumping Democrat Kay Albiani. Bowler, a former sheriff's lieutenant who previously had lost to Democrat Phil Isenberg in 1988, this year faces Wishnick, regional associate director for the University of San Francisco and former program trainer for the state Department of Justice.

DISTRICT 11 (54% D - 31% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Robert Campbell of Martinez. Peace and Freedom: Amanda Coughlan of Pleasant Hill.*

Another free ride for Campbell.

DISTRICT 12 (61% D - 19% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent John Burton. Republican: Philip Louis Wing. Libertarian: Anton Sherwood. All of San Francisco.*

Burton is invulnerable.

DISTRICT 13 (65% D - 15% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Willie Brown Jr. Republican: Marc Wolin. Libertarian: Marc Read Pickens. All of San Francisco.*

This is the dictionary definition of a "safe seat" as the Assembly speaker seeks his 16th — and last — term in the lower house.

DISTRICT 14 (71% D - 12% R) *Democrat: Incumbent Tom Bates of Berkeley. Green: Hank Chapot of Oakland.*

The Bay Area's most heavily Democratic district.

DISTRICT 15 (38% D - 48% R) — *Democrat: David Kearns of Danville. Republican: Incumbent Richard Rainey of Walnut Creek.*

No trouble this year for Rainey.

DISTRICT 16 (70% D - 16% R) *Democrat: Incumbent Barbara Lee. Republican: Andre-Tascha Gervais-Reynold Hamm-Lamme. Both of Oakland.*

Hamm-Lamme wins the category for most names, hyphenated. He loses the election, however.

DISTRICT 17 (54% D - 36% R) — *Democrat: Michael Machado of Linden. Republican: Ed Simas of Stockton.*

Farmer Machado ran for this Democratic-leaning seat two years ago and actually beat the incumbent on Election Day. But when absentee ballots were counted, Republican Dean Andal had walked away with one of the smallest victory margins in the 1992 legislative races. Machado has been working the district ever since in anticipation of another run this year, and his quest was aided when Andal decided to run for Board of Equalization. Not that the road will be easy, for he must take out another formidable opponent in Simas, a San Joaquin County supervisor.

DISTRICT 18 (60% D - 26% R) — *Democrat: Michael Sweeney of Hayward. Republican: Don Grundmann of San Leandro.*

Although this seat is open because Johan Klehs is running for the Board of Equalization, Hayward Mayor Sweeney shouldn't have much trouble winning it.

DISTRICT 19 (55% D - 30% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Jackie Speier of San Mateo. Peace and Freedom: David Reichard of San Bruno.*

It's been a tough year for the incumbent, who had planned to leave the Assembly to run for secretary of state only to have that quest sidelined by a potentially difficult pregnancy. Then, her husband was killed in an auto accident. Fortunately, all she'll have to do during the election season is relax and care for her family.

DISTRICT 20 (50% D - 33% R) — *Democrats: Liz Figueroa of Fremont; Doug Gunn of San Jose; Robert Livengood of Milpitas. Republicans: Winfred Cundiff and Scott Patrick Haggerty, both of Fremont; and Lowell King of Newark. Libertarian: Terry Savage of San Jose.*

This seat, vacated by Delaine Eastin's run for state schools chief, leans Demo-

Figueroa

cratic, but a strong Republican might nab it. The Democratic race appears to be a toss-up between Figueroa, a businesswoman and head of the Alameda County Democratic Central Committee, and Livengood, a veteran Milpitas councilman. Figueroa has the backing of state Senator Bill Lockyer, whose district encompasses AD 20. She's also supported by Assemblyman Richard Polanco, which brings the services of Richie Ross. Gunn is the owner of a stone business making

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his first run for public office. On the Republican side, Haggerty and King are potentially strong candidates who've been able to raise some money, although Livengood and Figueroa were well ahead of them in fund-raising as of mid-March. Cundiff and King, an investment counselor, ran in the primary for this seat two years ago and lost to the surprise winner, arch-conservative Lindy Batara, who in turn was swamped by Eastin. Haggerty is a trucking company account executive who decided to run for office for the first time while watching the Polly Klaas funeral.

DISTRICT 21 (48% D - 36% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Byron Sher of Palo Alto. Republicans: Anne Miyako Hawkins of Menlo Park and William Mills of Palo Alto.*

Although reapportionment nudged this district toward the GOP column, Sher has a tight grip on it.

DISTRICT 22 (49% D - 34% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent John Vasconcellos of Santa Clara. Republicans: Karin Dowdy of Saratoga and Leonard Piszkiewicz of Santa Clara.*

Vasconcellos actually had to break a sweat in 1992 when reapportionment landed him in San Jose's worst Democratic district but this time, although the numbers are shaky, Vasconcellos probably can relax.

DISTRICT 23 (60% D - 24% R) — *Democrats: Incumbent Dominic Cortese and Linda Combs, both of San Jose. Republican: Frank Jewett of San Jose. Green: Timothy Fitzgerald of San Jose.*

With the heavily Democratic registration, the only potential contest is in the Democratic primary, but there's no indication that political novice Linda Combs, a Superior Court law clerk, is much of a threat to Cortese.

DISTRICT 24 (44% D - 41% R) — *Democrat: Ed Foglia. Republicans: Frederick James Cuneen and Niall Stallard. All of San Jose.*

One of the hottest legislative races in the state is shaping up in AD 24, thanks to a vacancy created when GOP incumbent Charles Quackenbush decided to run for insurance commissioner. Republicans should be able to hold on, but Democrat Ed Foglia is no slouch. He's former head of the California Teachers Association and carries the potent political and financial backing of the CTA, as well as other major labor groups. In the two-man Republican primary, the apparent front-runner is Cuneen, a moderate Silicon Valley businessman who is a former staffer for three area lawmakers — state Senator Tom Campbell, former Senator Becky Morgan and former Congressman Ed Zschau.

DISTRICT 25 (48% D - 41% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Margaret Snyder of Modesto. Republican: George House of Hughson. Libertarian: Al Segalla of Twain Harte.*

Republicans may be forgiven for thinking this Central Valley seat belongs to them, but in what may be one of the mysteries of this election season, they placed their faith in House — an almond farmer and retired CHP commander who came in fourth in a primary field of six in 1992. Democrats don't think Snyder's in for nearly the rough election of two years ago, when her GOP opponent was Barbara Keating-Edh, a hard-charging and articulate conservative.

DISTRICT 26 (54% D - 35% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Sal Cannella of Ceres. Libertarian: Rob Parks of Ceres.*

This is Parks' second run against Cannella.

DISTRICT 27 (52% D - 30% R) — *Democrats: Augustine Daniel Gomez of Santa Cruz; Bill Monning of Salinas; Cathy O'Boyle of Monterey. Republican: Incumbent Bruce McPherson of Santa Cruz. Libertarian: O. Robert Welch of Brookdale.*

Democrat Sam Farr had a comfortable hold on this seat until he was elected to Congress in a special election last year. McPherson, whose family has owned the *Santa Cruz Sentinel* for generations, grabbed it for the GOP in another special election. His victory was helped when Democrats nominated a candidate too liberal even for this Santa Cruz-Monterey district. With McPherson ensconsed as the incumbent, returning AD 27 to the Democratic fold will be tough and expensive. The candidate many Democrats thought could do the job — Santa Cruz County Supervisor Fred Keely — decided not to run, so their hopes rest with either O'Boyle or Monning. O'Boyle, a former staffer to state Senator Henry Mello, is more moderate than Monning, an attorney and long-time activist for farm labor and other minority causes. O'Boyle also is backed by Mello, who is trying to assume the local political godfather mantle long held by former Congressman Leon Panetta. If O'Boyle wins the primary, she might get major financial help from the Democratic establishment, but the liberal Monning probably would be on his own.

DISTRICT 28 (52% D - 34% R) — *Democrats: Lily Cervantes of Salinas; Mike Graves of Hollister; Linda English and Dennis Kennedy, both of Morgan Hill. Republicans: Peter Frusetta of Tres Pinos; Ben Gilmore of Morgan Hill; Bob Winter of Gilroy.*

Incumbent Democrat Rusty Areias is vacating this seat to run for state controller. The district, which includes the suburbs of San Jose but lies mostly in the farmlands of the coastal valleys to the south, leans Democratic, but liberal credentials can be a liability. The Democratic primary campaign involves four candidates with solid credentials. Graves, a San Benito County supervisor, jumped to a commanding early lead in fund raising. Cervantes, a Salinas attorney, has backing from Senator Henry Mello, but it remains to be seen how her service on the Coastal Commission will play in this conservative district. English and Kennedy are both Morgan Hill officials; she's city treasurer and he's a councilman. In the GOP primary, the contest appears to be between Frusetta, a rancher who was trounced by Areias 1992, and Winter, former sheriff of Santa Clara County.

DISTRICT 29 (45% D - 45% R) — *Democrat: Michael O'Hare. Republican: Charles Poochigian. Both of Fresno.*

Bill Jones, who is vacating this seat to run for secretary of state, has designated Poochigian to succeed him in the Assembly. A former appointments secretary for Governor Pete Wilson, Poochigian is not taking this race for granted. One of his recent fund raisers, featuring Governor George Deukmejian as the main speaker, added nearly $200,000 to his campaign coffers. Democrats basically don't like the numbers here, but have added this district to their "watch list" nonetheless. Their standard-bearer will be O'Hare, a Fresno school board trustee.

DISTRICT 30 (56% D - 34% R) — *Democrats: Bryn Allison Batrich of Fresno; Keith Eubanks of Tranquility; and Marc Scalzo of Madera. Republicans: Ken Knost of Taft; J. Richard Neill of Hanford; and Brian Setencich of Fresno.*

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The race for Democrat Jim Costa's empty seat in this sparsely populated, southwestern San Joaquin Valley district has a spirited primary on both sides and could produce one of the odder contests come the fall. On the Democratic side, the race has evolved into a battle between Batrich and Scalzo. Batrich, Costa's administrative assistant, earned an endorsement from the Democratic Party, as well as from local Democratic luminaries like Costa, Tony Coelho and Cal Dooley. She should have no trouble finding the resources to get her message out. Scalzo, the mayor of Madera, has nearly $30,000

Batrich

Scalzo

on hand for the primary. On the Republican side, Fresno City Councilman Setencich is the apparent front-runner against Taft Mayor Knost, and Neill, a school board trustee. Should Setentich and Batrich be nominated, it could produce one of the few contests in recent memory where the Republican is more liberal than the Democrat.

DISTRICT 31 (62% D - 28% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Cruz Bustamante of Fresno. Republican: Glen Peterson of Visalia.*

Bustamante is safe.

DISTRICT 32 (41% D - 48% R) — *Democrat: Jack Keally of Lindsay. Republican: Incumbent Trice Harvey.*

Retired school teacher Keally, admits that his candidacy is long-shot.

DISTRICT 33 (41% D - 44% R) — *Democrat: John Ashbaugh of San Luis Obispo. Republicans: Tom J. Bordonaro Jr. of Paso Robles; Tris Colman of Santa Maria; Joni Gray of Santa Maria; Dewayne Holmdahl of Lompoc; Erik Howell of Arroyo Grande; Marquis Miller of Grover Beach; Barbara Norris of Paso Robles. Libertarian: Gary L. Kirkland of Templeton.*

There's a major battle here between Republicans who hope to replace incumbent Andrea Seastrand, who's running for Congress. The strongest contenders appear to be attorney Gray, who's raising money at a good clip and has a raft of endorsements from former Congressman Robert Lagomarsino and other local bigwigs; Holmdahl, a businessman and former Santa Barbara County supervisor who lost to Democrat Jack O'Connell in years past; and Bordonaro, who in mid-March was keeping pace with Gray in the money race. But anything may happen in a crowded race where 20 percent of the vote can capture the flag. Norris is a former mayor of Atascadero with a reputation as a spunky maverick. Miller, director of a local community services district, was running TV ads, although he failed to file a financial report by mid-March detailing the source of his money. It's said he's affiliated with the religious right.

DISTRICT 34 (39% D - 47% R) — *Democrat: Tim Hauk. Republicans: Keith Olberg and Michael Rothschild. All of Victorville.*

Freshman incumbent Kathleen Honeycutt decided only two months ago that ill health would force her to leave the Assembly, giving potential successors precious little time to organize a campaign. One candidate, however, had a little advance notice: Olberg, 32, whose immediate endorsement by Honeycutt smacked of baton-passing. The 50ish Rothschild has served on the Victorville City Council for years and had to scramble a little harder. Both are described as conservative. Olberg has more cash in the bank and has been endorsed by a handful of GOP legislators, but Rothschild knows the district and has run campaigns before in the populated Victor Valley.

DISTRICT 35 (46% D - 37% R) — *Democrats: Mindy Lorenz of Summerland; Robert Ream of Santa Barbara. Republican: Brooks Firestone of Santa Ynez. Green: Tom Stafford of Ventura. Libertarian: Chris Blunt of Goleta.*

Firestone, the vineyard owner of tire company fame, is waiting in the wings and raising money — $40,000 alone from his father — while Lorenz and Ream fight it out for the Democratic nomination to replace Assemblyman Jack O'Connell, who's running for state Senate. Ream, 27, jumped into the race early with the backing of his former boss, Senator Gary Hart, and may have preempted other Democratic candidates who might have had a better chance to beat Firestone. Hart's name helped Ream raise some $70,000 as of mid-March. Lorenz, a college instructor and former welfare mother, was the Green Party's first congressional candidate in 1992. She's hoping that baggage won't outweigh strong support she's getting from Sonoma Assemblywoman Valerie Brown and women's groups. She had some $60,000 in the bank and support from some Assembly Latinos.

DISTRICT 36 (35% D - 51% R) — *Democrat: James Hutchins of Lancaster. Republican: Incumbent William "Pete" Knight of Palmdale. Libertarian: Eric Fussell of Palmdale.*

The fact that rookie Knight appeared clueless at times in the Assembly won't hinder his re-election.

DISTRICT 37 (41% D - 44% R) — *Democrat: Dorothy Maron of Oxnard. Republican: Incumbent Nao Takasugi of Oxnard. Libertarian: David Harner of Newbury Park.*

Two years ago, this solidly white Ventura County district elected the Legislature's only Asian member. Since then, Takasugi has become an oasis of quiet competence. Democrat Maron served with Takasugi on the Oxnard City Council, and the race is something of a grudge match for her. Won't matter.

DISTRICT 38 (41% D - 46% R) — *Democrats: Josh Arce of Chatsworth and Donald Cocquyt of Simi Valley. Republican: Incumbent Paula Boland of Granada Hills. Green: Charles Wilken of Van Nuys.*

Of the two Democratic challengers, the local party endorsement went to an 18-year-old UCLA freshman — Arce — whose campaign manager is his best friend from high school. 'Nuff said.

DISTRICT 39 (62% D - 26% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Richard Katz of Sylmar. Republican: Nicholas Fitzgerald of Panorama City.*

Despite the services of Clinton campaign guru James Carville, Katz didn't come close in his run for mayor of Los Angeles last year, and after mulling both the Senate and statewide office, he opted for yet another Assembly run.

DISTRICT 40 (56% D - 30% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Barbara Friedman of North Hollywood. Republican: Noel Degaetano of Van Nuys. Libertarian: Kelley Ross of Van Nuys.*

Like Katz, Friedman toyed with the

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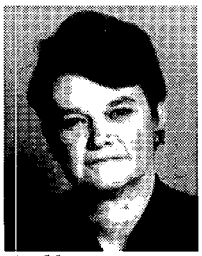
idea of running for Senator David Roberti's SD 20 seat, but at the last minute decided instead to file for re-election, chasing away all challengers. Her working-class district in the heart of the San Fernando Valley may not be as liberal as she, but they're liberal enough to make Republican Noel Degaetano's challenge in November a real long shot.

DISTRICT 41 (50% D - 36% R) — *Democrats: Roger Diamond of Pacific Palisades, Sheila James Kuehl of Santa Monica, Pat McGuire of Tarzana, William Rothbard of Los Angeles, John Shallman of Encino, Edward Tabash of Los Angeles. Republicans: Peter Eason of Azusa and Michael Meehan of Santa Monica. Libertarian: Philip Baron of Tarzana.*

Republicans looked at the registration numbers in incumbent Terry Friedman's new hybrid district in 1992, and decided to take a run at the liberal Berman-Waxman protege. They had the candidate in moderate ex-Santa Monica Councilwoman Christine Reed. They had the money — $500,000 to spend on her


Kuehl

Rothbard

Tabash

behalf. What they didn't have was a chance against Friedman. This year, with Friedman leaving to run for Superior Court, a swarm of Democrats has emerged, many of whom have either the political or financial wherewithall to make a serious run. The best known of the group is law professor Kuehl, a co-founder of the California Women's Law Center who trains judges on gender bias. In a former life, Kuehl was none other than "Zelda Gilroy," the love-starved suitor of TV's "Dobie Gillis." Two early favorites among environmentals are attorneys Bill Rothbard and Roger Diamond. Rothbard is a close friend of Friedman's, who is helping him with endorsements in Sacramento. Rothbard is vice-chairman of the Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy. Diamond has been toiling against offshore drilling and smoking for two decades, landing several major cases in the state Supreme Court. Los Angeles Transportation Commissioner Shallman was involved in the Riordan-for-mayor campaign. Lawyer Tabash is a principal spokesman for CARAL, a pro-choice group. He is positioning himself as tough on crime and is appealing to moderates in the Valley. He has seeded his campaign with $120,000. Kuehl, who is openly lesbian, is considered a slight favorite, thanks to a better organization and a thick packet of endorsements that includes U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer. Rothbard may get an edge at the end, however, if his friend Friedman enlists the help of *his* friends in the Berman-Waxman organization. Any of these would have had a tough time with Reed, but health problems forced her to opt out of a run, leaving the field to two relatively weak contenders. Meehan is a law student and reserve county deputy sherriff, while Eason is a banker who serves on the Calabasas Traffic Commission. Meehan may have an edge over Eason, if only because Reed is running his campaign.

DISTRICT 42 (59% D - 25% R) — *Democrats: John Duran, Paul Koretz, Abbe Land and Bruce Margolin, all of West Hollywood; Wally Knox and Mark Slavkin of Los Angeles; and Laura Lake of Beverly Hills. Republican: Robert Davis of West Hollywood. Libertarian: Eric Fine of Beverly Hills.*

Gathered within the confines of this four-cornered district are Beverly Hills, Hollywood, and Westwood — as high a concentration of rich white liberals as anywhere in the state. When incumbent Burt Margolin decided to run for insurance commissioner, it was no surprise to see just about every Democratic wannabe with two nickels to rub together filing for the seat. Koretz and Land are members of the West Hollywood City Council who spent most of the first part of the year politely one-upping each other in council meetings. Koretz had about five times as much money as Land in the early going, and led all in fund-raising. Land boasts strong ties to her city's influential gay community. As a member of the powerful Los Angeles Board of

Knox

Land

Koretz

Slavkin

Education, Slavkin has the edge in name recognition. He also has powerful friends, having worked for retiring Los Angeles Supervisor Ed Edelman. Knox serves as a trustee on the Los Angeles Community College District. That's not as high profile as the school board, but Knox, who is Jewish, helped his case by taking out a $170,000 loan early in the year — more than enough to buy name recognition. Another name that may ring a bell is that of gay Latino civil rights lawyer Duran, who polled 35 percent of the vote two years ago. Unlike his competitors, he's very short on cash and organization. As if this all weren't confusing enough, there's even another Margolin in the race, although he's no relation to the outgoing incumbent.

DISTRICT 43 (43% D - 42% R) — *Democrats: Craig Fries of Los Angeles; Ken Kulpa and Adam Schiff of Burbank. Republicans: Louise Morelli of Burbank; Joseph Pietroforte of Los Angeles; Peter Repovich of La Canada; James Rogan of Glendale; David Wallis of Glendale; Julia Wu of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Willard Michlin of Los Angeles.*

Repovich

Democrats were salivating over the irony that one of their own — Schiff, a federal prosecutor — would take on the

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incumbent from this district — Republican Pat Nolan, under indictment on federal racketeering and bribery charges. But Nolan disappointed them by pleading guilty and resigning from the Assembly this spring. Since he had already filed papers to run for the seat, Nolan's sudden guilty plea sent panic through local GOP ranks, which sought out a strong consensus alternative to run for the seat, as well as in the special election to be held simultaneously to fill out the remainder of Nolan's term. After being turned down by Glendale Mayor Larry Zarian, local party leaders rallied around Rogan, a municipal court judge. The conservative Rogan quickly gathered a list of endorsements from members of the Assembly GOP caucus. All this didn't sit too well with Repovich, an 11-year LAPD veteran who began running for the seat last year, when Nolan was still under indictment. When he announced for the race, his campaign coffers were stuffed with a $250,000 loan listed on campaign reporting forms as being from a Susan Barnes. Another $60,000 or so in loans and grants from a company co-owned by Barnes and her husband. Repovich will say only that Barnes is a physical therapist, and that she and her husband are good friends. The size of the loans and his dependence on a single source could be the reason why Repovich decided not to run in the special election, as candidates in those elections must adhere to Proposition 73's $1000 contribution limits. Wherever the money came from, it's more than enough to buy Repovich a reputation as a crime fighter, which sells very well in this district. One other GOP contender of note is Julia Wu, a Los Angeles Community College trustee and instructor. Wu is underfunded but has an organized campaign and could sneak in if Repovich and Rogan blast away at each other. While the intrigues rage on the GOP side, Democrats are quietly betting on Schiff, who has run for Assembly before and lined up a creditable bankroll — more than enough to run down Kulpa and Freis.

DISTRICT 44 (44% D - 43% R) — *Democrat: Bruce Philpott of Pasadena. Republican: Incumbent Bill Hoge of Pasadena. Libertarian: Ken Saurenman of Duarte.*

Democrats kicked themselves two years ago for not having challenged the staunchly conservative Hoge in his maiden run. Despite favorable registration, Hoge polled only 51 percent against a Democrat who spent a mere $5000. This year, the Democrats have a bankable candidate in Philpott, the retired police chief of Pasadena, who trumps Hoge on the crime issue and offers Democrats a credible alternative to an incumbent who has kept a fairly low profile in Sacramento.

DISTRICT 45 (62% D - 22% R) — *Democrats: Spencer Burton, Bill Mabie, Gonzalo Molina, Brian Quintana and Antonio Villaraigosa. Republican: Robert Jung. Libertarian: Pam Probst. All of Los Angeles.*

The factional squabbling among Los Angeles' Latino political hierarchy turned legislative races into war zones in 1992. This year, the embers have cooled, but the battle for Senate-bound Richard Polanco's Assembly seat hints at more feuding to come. Polanco himself stirred the pot when he backed Mabie, his Anglo chief of staff. Mabie speaks fluent Spanish and has a long history of community activism, but the seat was drawn to elect a Latino, and many in the area are angry about Polanco's decision to back his aide. The main beneficiary of that anger is Villaraigosa, a United Teachers of Los Angeles union rep Villaraigosa has attracted broad labor support and raked in more than $100,000 in the early going, putting him well ahead of Mabie. He also has the backing of most of the city's Latino political leadership, including Polanco's archrival, Los Angeles County Supervisor Gloria Molina. Most significant, staunch Polanco allies Senator Art Torres and Councilman Richard Alatorre have remained neutral. Polanco says Mabie is "culturally competent" and has worked more closely with the real people in the district than any of the three Latino candidates, but the juice seems to be on Villaraigosa's side. Mabie's success may rest on how far Polanco is willing to go on his behalf.

DISTRICT 46 (65% D - 20% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Louis Caldera. Republican: Yong Yang. Peace and Freedom: William Williams. All of Los Angeles.*

The boyish-looking Caldera quickly established himself as a rising star among the large freshman class.

DISTRICT 47 (75% D - 14% R) — *Democrats: Geoff Gibbs, Jimmie Woods Gray, Ed Johnson, Marsha Kimble, Neil Liss, Kevin Murray, Les Roberson, Valerie Lynne Shaw and Rudolph Valentino Thompson. Republicans: Kathleen Brundo and Jonathan Leonard. All of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Kevin Murphy of Culver City. Peace and Freedom: Tamara Taleebah of Los Angeles.*

There must have been some silent cheering among the emerging generation of Black political leaders in Los Angeles when term limits was approved in 1990. Throughout the '80s, promising African-American politicians stacked up like jets at LAX, waiting for one of the longtime incumbents to move up or die. This year, that pent-up ambition exploded when eight-termer Gwen Moore decided to run for secretary of state. The race to replace her will be decided in a Democratic primary featuring nine candidates, six of whom have at least some political base. By most estimates, the "first tier" candidates are Gibbs, Johnson, Murray and Shaw. Shaw was, until recently, the field deputy for Councilwoman Ruth Galanter, a job that allowed her to build a reputation as a community activist willing to get her hands dirty in the trenches. Galanter's recent re-election fight should provide Shaw with a thick Rolodex of potential funding sources. Entertainment lawyer Murray is the son of Assemblyman Willard Murray Jr., opinion of whom is decidedly mixed among Blacks in the district because of his alliance with the National Rifle Association. Murray the elder does boast something of a mini political machine, sending out his own slate mailer. Moreover, with a client list that includes rapper Tone Loc, Murray the younger should be able to pump some of his own money into the race. Johnson's political patron is Congressman Julian Dixon, for whom he has worked for 15 years as a senior aide. Dixon is closely allied with the Berman-Waxman machine, but while Berman has personally endorsed Johnson, there were no early signs of any more concentrated effort. Gibbs is the enigma — a 32-year-old lawyer whose most recent job was as an Washington, D.C., aide to Illinois U.S. Senator Carol Mosely-Braun. While working for a prestigious Los Angeles firm, Gibbs was involved in lawsuits arising out of the 1992 riots, and has the endorsement of the Reverend Cecil Murray of the First AME Church. He also has a D.C.-influenced organization and secured $50,000 in early loans to puff up his campaign finance report. Two other candidates also bear mentioning. While not as well known as the rest, UTLA organizer Gray

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has the backing of the California Teachers Association, which can often translate into money. Attorney Kimble, meanwhile, is legal counsel for the Black American Political Association of California, of which Moore is one of the founding members. The other three Democrats are not expected to make many waves. While all of the main contenders are African-American, the race may hinge on which candidate appeals most to the liberal white voters in Fairfax and Culver City. Shaw could have an edge here, since her ex-boss Galanter is white and has ties to the area.

DISTRICT 48 (87% D - 5% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Marguerite Archie-Hudson of Los Angeles.*

A bruising election from start to finish. No one — no one — will be left standing at the bell. Billions spent here.

DISTRICT 49 (60% D - 26% R) — *Democrats: Judy Chu of Monterey Park; incumbent Diane Martinez of Baldwin Park; Roy Torres of Los Angeles. Republican: George Nirschl III of San Gabriel. Libertarian: Kim Goldsworthy of Pasadena.*

Like father, like daughter? Just as Congressman Marty Martinez seems constantly to be fending off primary challenges, his daughter finds herself in a stiff fight in her first re-election bid. Monterey Park Councilwoman Chu began building her organization last year, and by spring had already raised more than $100,000, much of it from Asian contributors. Chu is not only well-liked within her political base, she has also evidenced a streak of political shrewdness, blocking two key local party endorsements that are practically pro-forma for most sitting incumbents. Moreover, Martinez hasn't exactly endeared herself to her Latino base, angering some with her endorsement of Richard Riordan in last year's mayoral race. Underfunded teacher Roy Torres doesn't figure to be much of a factor, but the presence of another Latino could drain a few votes away from Martinez. The incumbent still has powerful allies, drawing money and endorsements from the usual Democratic sources. Despite evidence suggesting that she is the least-liked member of the freshman class in Sacramento, expect the Democratic leadership to go all out to protect her against a tough opponent.

Martinez

Chu

DISTRICT 50 (68% D - 20% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Martha Escutia of Huntington Park. Republican: Gladys Miller of Bell Gardens. Peace and Freedom: Alma Strowiss of Huntington Park.*

Escutia has many admirers among her colleagues, and they'll all be seeing her again next year.

DISTRICT 51 (71% D - 18% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Curtis Tucker Jr. of Inglewood. Republican: Adam Michelin of Los Angeles.*

This seat has been in the Tucker family since the earth cooled.

DISTRICT 52 (80% D - 11% R) — *Democrats: Stephen Hamlin of Los Angeles; Patricia Moore of Compton; and incumbent Willard Murray Jr. of Paramount. Republican: Richard Rorex of Gardena.*

Murray is something of a pariah among the area's African-American political leaders because of his open support for the National Rifle Association. Two years ago, he polled only 45 percent in a primary against two effective women. One of those candidates, Compton Councilwoman Moore, is back, but unlike 1992, she also carries a stigma. Along with Congressman Walter Tucker, Moore reportedly is one of the targets in a federal probe into alleged corruption in Compton city government. How that all pans out will undoubtably determine whether she improves on her strong 30 percent showing last time.

DISTRICT 53 (43% D - 41% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Debra Bowen of Marina Del Rey. Republicans: David Bohline of El Segundo and Julian Sirull of Redondo Beach. Libertarian: William Gaillard of Redondo Beach. Peace and Freedom: J. Kevin Bishop of Los Angeles.*

Republicans shot themselves in the foot two years ago, nominating an ideological conservative to run against centrist Bowen, and the iconoclastic attorney won the GOP-leaning seat going away — helped in part by an active and successful congressional campaign in the same area on behalf of Democrat Jane Harman. You'd think the Republicans would be hot to take it back, but if they were actively recruiting a candidate, it didn't show in the results. Bohline and Sirull are both political novices, have raised no money, and seem highly unlikely to take out Bowen.

DISTRICT 54 (44% D - 42% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Betty Karnette of Long Beach. Republicans: Jeffrey Earle of Rolling Hills Estates and Steven Kuykendall of Rancho Palos Verdes. Libertarian: Alan Carlan of Rancho Palos Verdes.*

Karnette's 1992 victory over incumbent Gerald Felando was a complete surprise to the GOP and just about everyone else, except perhaps Karnette and the California Teachers Association, which dug deep on behalf of the former teacher. This year, as an incumbent, Karnette can expect a whole lot more help from the Democratic leadership, and she will likely need every bit of it. The GOP race pits moderate Rancho Palos Verdes Mayor Kuykendall against conservative restaurant owner Earle. Kuykendall enjoys a number of key endorsements and has out-raised his opponent in the early going. Earle, meanwhile, has drawn interest from the conservative Allied Business PAC, which could come in on his behalf if he wins the primary. While Karnette would clearly rather face Earle, either will pose a formidable challenge for the incumbent.

DISTRICT 55 (68% D - 20% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Juanita McDonald of Carson. Libertarian: Daniel Dalton of Long Beach.*

Political junkies were tantalized earlier this year by the prospect that earthy ex-Assemblyman Richard Floyd might make a run at the woman who beat him two years ago. Floyd eventually decided against another try.

DISTRICT 56 (50% D - 39% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Bob Epple of Long Beach. Republicans: Vinod Dave of Cerritos; Phil Hawkins of Bellflower; and Daniel Wong of Norwalk. Libertarian: Arthur Hays of Long Beach.*

Barring any unforseen circumstances, 1994 will be a re-match of 1992, with perenially weak incumbent Epple waging another high-cost battle against Republican Hawkins, a Cerritos businessman who had plenty of help from the Allied Business PAC two years ago. His primary opponent, Wong, lost to

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Hawkins in '92 and remains bitter over the episode, adding some flame to the GOP primary.

DISTRICT 57 (57% D - 31% R) — *Democrats: Tony Fellow and Martin Gallegos of El Monte; Charles Storing of La Puente. Republican: Frank Yik of El Monte. Libertarian: David Argall of La Puente.*

Latino registration of 40 percent would seem to give El Monte Councilman Gallegos a heavy leg up in this eastern San Gabriel Valley district, which came vacant when incumbent Hilda Solis decided to run for the Senate. Fellow ran two years ago, polling 20 percent against Solis, and has a powerful ally in ex-Assemblywoman Sally Tanner, who represented the area for several years. Much of the Latino establishment is behind Gallegos, however, and neither Fellow nor La Puente Councilman Storing is believed to have the organization or the money to overcome it.

DISTRICT 58 (64% D -26% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Grace Napolitano of Norwalk. Republican: James Marymee of Norwalk. Libertarian: John McCready of Whittier.*

Two years ago, AD 58 was a battleground between warring Latino factions. Today, it's just a safe seat for incumbent Democrat Napolitano.

DISTRICT 59 (40% D - 48% R) — *Democrat: Margalo Ashley-Farrand of Arcadia. Republican: Incumbent Richard Mountjoy of Arcadia.*

A solid Republican district in the northeastern San Gabriel Valley.

DISTRICT 60 (43% D - 44% R) — *Democrat: Andrew Ramirez. Republicans: Incumbent Paul Horcher and Robert Smith. All of West Covina. Libertarian: Michael Welte of Pomona.*

Incumbent Horcher became a villified outcast among his Assembly GOP colleagues for refusing to turn down a plum committee assignment that was supposed to go to another Republican. As a result, he briefly considered running for Congress. But he decided to return to the Assembly, where his pariah status doesn't appear to translate into vengeance at the polls. Businessman Smith has no money and isn't getting any help from Sacramento. Democrat Ramirez is a political consultant, but he'll have to be an awfully good one to beat the Republican registration edge.

DISTRICT 61 (45% D - 44% R) — *Democrat: Larry Silva of Chino Hills. Republican: Incumbent Fred Aguiar of Ontario.*

Aguiar has emerged as one of the more solid members of the rookie class.

DISTRICT 62 (59% D - 31% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Joe Baca of San Bernardino. Republican: Tom Hibbard of Loma Linda.*

Baca has this district under his thumb.

DISTRICT 63 (40% D - 48% R) — *Democrat: Richard Edwards of Redlands. Republican: Incumbent Jim Brulte of Rancho Cucamonga.*

The jury is out on Brulte's ability to run a statewide campaign machine for Assembly Republicans, but the minority leader generates no such doubts in his own backyard.

DISTRICT 64 (45% D - 44% R) — *Democrats: Roberta "Bobbi" Meyer. Republican: Incumbent Ted Weggeland. Libertarian: Jane Henson. All of Riverside.*

To win his first election in 1992, Weggeland had a tough campaign. Not this year.

DISTRICT 65 (41% D - 46% R) — *Democrats: Joe Desist of Patton; Ruthee Goldkorn and Richard Sandoval of Moreno Valley. Republicans: Jim Bagley of Twentynine Palms; Mark Bringhurst of Moreno Valley; Bill Franklin of Banning; Brett Granlund of Yucaipa; Jay Hughes of Moreno Valley; David O'Brian of Big Bear Lake; Michael Roloff of Angelus Oaks; and Robert Simmons of Moreno Valley.*

Incumbent Republican Paul Woodruff had an interesting time two years ago when he beat Democrat Alice Robb 52 percent to 39 percent. That may sound substantial, but Robb never campaigned. In fact, she spent all of the campaign season in Pasadena, working for — of all people — Lyndon LaRouche. Robb may not have put the fear of voter wrath into Woodruff, but he decided to return to private business anyway, leaving his district open. Robb herself has disappeared into the annals of political footnoting, so most of the focus has settled on the wide-open GOP primary. As the race heads into its final weeks, four Republicans seem to have emerged from the pack. Woodruff has endorsed Bringhurst, who also has the backing of the CTA and Assemblyman Ted Weggeland, for whom he worked. Bagley is a Twentynine Palms councilman who has support from Assemblywoman Kathleen Honeycutt. Yucaipa Councilman Granlund has a $50,000 bankroll to toss into the mix and rumored support from the religious right. And Hughes until recently was foreman of the Riverside County Grand Jury. None of the Democrats is expected to follow in Robb's mysterious footsteps. If Robb's ruby slipper fits anyone, it may be Goldkorn, who is confined to a wheelchair and has but $314 in her campaign kitty.

DISTRICT 66 (35% D - 52% R) — *Democrats: David Hendrick of Wildomar and Dennis Seifert of Corona. Republicans: Kevin Jeffries of Lake Elsinore; Brian Padberg of Murrieta; Trudy Thomas of Murrieta; and Bruce Thompson of Fallbrook. Peace and Freedom: Erin Wood of Fallbrook.*

Freshman GOP incumbent Ray Haynes is running for the state Senate, leaving another seat open in the volatile Inland Empire. At first blush, the contest seems to be another in the endless series of moderate-conservative confrontations that have become as natural to the GOP landscape as elephant ties. The moderate, Padberg, publishes a magazine and dabbles in real-estate development. He has the backing of the California Teachers Association, which can provide grassroots people power but may be dubious in a GOP primary. He also is underfunded, having raised but $2977. Thomas is a former aide to Haynes who had nearly $18,000 on hand. Thompson as of mid-March had a $54,000 bankroll. Jeffries, president of the Lake Elsinore Water District board, was the biggest fund raiser, having pulled in just short of $76,000 between January and mid-March.

DISTRICT 67 (35% D - 51% R) — *Democrat: Jonathan Woolf-Willis. Republicans: Incumbent Doris Allen and Tony Nottke. All of Huntington Beach.*

Incumbent Allen, who's been in the Assembly for a dozen years, fought her way through a three-incumbent primary in 1992, solidifying her reputation as a scrappy campaigner and fund raiser. Along the way, she earned a large harrumph from GOP purists for accepting the largesse of the California Teachers Association. The undercurrent flowing through her present primary challenge has nothing to do with the CTA, however; it has everything to do with a

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Senate race she likely will enter next year. Her opponent will be Assemblyman Gil Ferguson, who is not seeking re-election in 1994. Both will be aiming for the Senate seat vacated when Republican Marian Bergeson is elected to the Orange County Board of Supervisors sometime next year — an event considered as inevitable as balmy weather along the beach. By not running for re-election, Ferguson has planted his flag atop the moral high ground, saying that he didn't want taxpayers to ante up for a special election to replace him in the Assembly should be be elected to the Senate. It is a message he intends to beat Allen over the head with when the two collide. Meanwhile, just to keep Allen distracted and to chew up some of her campaign cash, Ferguson is backing Nottke's primary challenge. The conservative Nottke probably won't knock off Allen, but he may serve his purpose.

DISTRICT 68 (42% D - 46% R) — *Democrats: Irv Pickler of Anaheim and Linda Kay Rigney of Garden Grove. Republican: Incumbent Curt Pringle of Garden Grove.*

Until last month, Democrats publicly shrugged when discussing this race. After all, registration favors the GOP. But it was hard to disguise a twinkle in the donkey's eye. Pringle has been a source of irritation to Democrats ever since his campaign hired poll guards to question Hispanic-looking voters back in 1988 — a tactic that resulted in a hefty court settlement. But then the candidate Democrats thought might just scuttle Pringle, longtime Anaheim Councilman Pickler, was seriously injured when his car struck a light pole. Although he has vowed to continue the race despite assorted broken bones, the 70ish Pickler may not have the stamina. He also must get by his primary opponent, Rigney — a feat considered a slam dunk before the accident but less so now, given that he will not be able to campaign. Rigney lost to Pringle two years ago and would be hard-pressed to beat him now. If Pickler recovers, and wins the primary, this one will heat up toward October.

DISTRICT 69 (53% D - 36% R) — *Democrats: Zeke Hernandez, Mike Metzler, Ted Moreno and John Patterson, all of Santa Ana. Republicans: Martin Ageson of Costa Mesa; and Judy Buffin-Edge, Jim Morrissey and Virgil Nickell of Santa Ana. Libertarian: George Reis of Santa Ana.*

The only slice of Orange County favorable to a Democrat, AD 69 has been held by Tom Umberg for the past four years. But Umberg is running for attorney general, and both parties think they have a shot to replace him. Two-thirds of the district population is Latino, but that translates into only 25 percent of the voting population, so ethnicity counts on the margins. On the Democratic side, Moreno, a Santa Ana councilman, has both advantages and baggage. First, he is known in the district and has ties to Latino political kingmakers like Assemblyman Richard Polanco. But the youthful Moreno offered $10,000 to Hernandez if he would get out of the race. Hernandez went public with Moreno's offer. Moreno also has worked for Jay Kim, a Republican congressman who's the subject of an FBI investigation for campaign financing violations. Patterson, meanwhile, doesn't seem to have any organized campaign. In a position to capitalize on all of this is Metzler, president of the Santa Ana Chamber of Commerce who's been endorsed by Umberg and who has a comfortable war chest. A moderate with strong connections to the business community, he would be best positioned to earn cross-over GOP votes in a general election. Although that won't help him in the primary, the stumblings and bumblings of other Democratic candidates seem to have thrust Metzler into the catbird seat. On the GOP side, conservatives like Senator Rob Hurtt originally wanted Rosie Avila to run, but she decided not to try. Hurtt then switched to Morrissey, and has been joined by Assemblymen Curt Pringle and Mickey Conroy — an indication that he could receive help from the ultra-conservative Allied Business PAC. Senator John Lewis, on the other hand, supports Ageson, an attorney with $50,000 already in the bank. Buffin-Edge is the only woman on the GOP ticket, and the only pro-choice candidate. Nickell is a perennial who lost the GOP primary two years ago. With the likes of Hurtt in his corner, Morrissey would seem to have the edge. But Republicans ran a similarly conservative candidate in 1992, and she was elbowed aside handily by Umberg.

DISTRICT 70 (30% D - 55% R) — *Democrat: Jim Toledano of Costa Mesa. Republicans: Marilyn Brewer of Irvine; Barry Hammond of Irvine; and Thomas Reinecke of Newport Beach.*

A tantalizing little primary created when incumbent Gil Ferguson decided not to seek re-election to wait for a chance to run for the state Senate next year (see AD 67). Ferguson then annointed a successor in Reinecke, an attorney and the son of former Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke. Enter Hammond, a Irvine councilman and close friend of Senator Rob Hurtt. He's being backed by the likes of Senator John Lewis, Congressman Ed Royce, businessman Howard Ahmanson and, of course, Hurtt himself. Ferguson can't be too happy with Hammond's candidacy, nor with the meddling of other Orange County Republicans in his backyard. Anonymous hit pieces have been skewering Reinecke over the most private aspects of his life. As conservatives Reinecke and Hammond slug it out, it could provide an opening for the third GOP candidate — Brewer, a moderate endorsed by Senator Marian Bergeson. Brewer is an assistant to Orange County Supervisor Tom Riley.

DISTRICT 71 (29% D - 57% R) — *Democrat: Jeanne Costales of Lake Forest. Republican: Incumbent Mickey Conroy of Santa Ana.*

Costales' presence in the November race give the race some balance. No chance of victory — just balance.

DISTRICT 72 (33% D - 55% R) — *Democrat: Allan Dollison of Santa Ana. Republican: Incumbent Ross Johnson of Fullerton. Libertarian: Geoffrey Braun of Placentia.*

The last time around for Johnson, a 16-year veteran of Assembly wars. Sometimes, term limits does in the wrong guy.

DISTRICT 73 (31% D - 53% R) — *Democrat: Lee Walker of Laguna Nigel. Republican: Incumbent Bill Morrow of Diamond Bar. Libertarian: B. Wade Hostler of Oceanside. Peace and Freedom: Tonatiuh Rodriguez-Nikl of Carlsbad.*

How do you spell "no chance?" W-a-l-k-e-r.

DISTRICT 74 (31% D - 51% R) — *Democrat: Poppy Demarco Dennis of Del Mar. Republicans: Fred Clayton of Vista; Veronica Delaney of Del Mar; Tim Haidinger of Del Mar; Howard Kaloogian of Carlsbad; Andrew Schooler of Del Mar; Diane Beall Templin of Escondido. Peace and Freedom Claudio Ferrari of Vista.*

When longtime incumbent Republican Bob Frazee decided to retire, a platoon of district Republicans charged toward the vacuum. One of them, mil-

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lionaire Alan Uke, tripped at the wire when he failed to turn in enough valid signatures and was disqualified. Among those who qualified, Delaney is a lifetime district resident — except for the time two years ago when she moved into AD 76 to challenge there. She lost the primary and has moved back home. She is a moderate and the former mayor of Del Mar. Another candidate regarded as

Delaney

moderate is Clayton, who has the endorsement of the California Teachers Association. That support may not be a plus in this conservative GOP district unless the teachers are willing to commit money and resources to his campaign. So far, there is no evidence of this. In addition, the local Vista School Board is embroiled in a war between the religious right and moderates that could spill over into this race. Haidinger, an educator, has Frazee's support, while Kaloogian and Templin are the most conservative and have connections to the religious right. A wide open primary, it could be won with little more than 20 percent of the vote.

DISTRICT 75 (31% D - 51% R) — *Democrat: Katherina Wodehouse of Ramona. Republican: Incumbent Jan Goldsmith of Poway. Libertarian: J.C. Anderson of San Diego. Peace and Freedom: Ann Archer of Alpine.*

No, the Peace and Freedom candidate isn't *that* Ann Archer.

DISTRICT 76 (41% D - 42% R) — *Democrat: Susan Davis. Republicans: Dwight Robinson Jr., Ray Saatjian and Bob Trettin. All of San Diego.*

AD 76 is always a difficult district for Democrats, more so now that incumbent Mike Gotch will not seek re-election. Gotch combined a good knack for campaigning with good luck to beat back a series of GOP challenges. But Gotch is gone, and Democrats have placed their hope in Davis, a member of the San Diego School Board who has been endorsed by a diverse pack of San Diego politicians, including Senators Steve Peace and Lucy Killea. She'll need a little of Gotch's luck — the kind that saw Republicans nominate a conservative, anti-abortion male in 1992 rather than one of two moderate women. The initial GOP front-runner, Saatjian, is conservative but without overt connections to the hard right. A flower grower and cousin by marriage to former Governor George Deukmejian, he finished fourth in a 1992 congressional primary. He can raise money from the always generous Armenian community, which provides him with an edge. Trettin — who's run and lost in local races before — is the most conservative of the three and could be the candidate Davis prefers. Robinson has done little campaigning to date.

DISTRICT 77 (39% D - 45% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Tom Connolly of Lemon Grove. Republicans: Rick Alexander of La Mesa and Steve Baldwin of El Cajon.*

Registration doesn't get much better than this for the GOP, but it still managed to punt this district away in 1992 to Connolly. The Democrat was given a nice helping hand by his GOP opponent — the arch-conservative Baldwin, who had tons of cash from conservative groups like Allied Business PAC to spend on publicity. Unfortunately, some of it was free and not very flattering and helped sink his candidacy, as Baldwin spent the last week of the campaign dodging national news programs focused on his claim that the U.S. Air Force had an official witch. Yes, well, Baldwin is back, claiming that he's had a make-over and now is more moderate. And conservatives like Senator Rob Hurtt and Allied, after initially trying to dissuade Baldwin from running, are back in his corner. His primary opponent, Alexander, is a college trustee who is more moderate and could cause problems for Connolly come November. Unfortunately for Republicans, even if Alexander defeats Baldwin, he'll emerge wounded after conservatives like Hurtt trashed him for being "squishy on the issues."

DISTRICT 78 (38% D - 43% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Deirdre Alpert of San Diego. Republican: Bruce Henderson of La Jolla. Peace and Freedom: James Fife of San Diego.*

Nothing much will happen in this district until the fall, and there is a chance that nothing much will happen then, either. Despite the GOP's registration edge, it will have to wait until term limits dispose of Alpert before mounting a campaign to win AD 78.

DISTRICT 79 (55% D - 30% R) — *Democrats: Incumbent Denise Moreno Ducheny of San Diego; Tim Nader of National City; Lettie Rodgers of San Diego; David Valladolid of Chula Vista; and John Warren of San Diego. Republican: John Vogel III of San Diego. Peace and Freedom: Lasal Faten of Chula Vista.*

The Democrats in this primary battled just weeks ago in a mid-April special election to replace Democrat Steve Peace, who himself was elected to the state Senate in a special election last December. The April special was an all-Democratic affair, thus no run-off will be held despite the fact that the winner — Ducheny — did not get 50 percent of the vote. In fact, she defeated Nader, the mayor of Chula Vista, by only 27 votes. Ducheny, a community college trustee with ties to the Latino community, serves out the remainder of Peace's Assembly term, although the election came too late to include "incumbent" on her ballot designation. Valladolid, another Latino and staffer for Assembly majority services in San Diego, trailed a distant third in the special. Victory in the special does not necessarily translate into an advantage in June for Ducheny, however, since her narrow victory is in part attributable to a last-minute endorsement and activity on her behalf by the National Rifle Association — dubious support in a Democratic primary. Nader, a former prosecutor and the most conservative Democrat, also was thought to have benefited from Republican votes in the special, votes unavailable to him in a Democratic primary. Thus, the June primary is a toss-up, with Valladolid expected to perform better now that the vote is limited to Democrats. So, too, will Warren and Rodgers — both African-Americans — who finished fourth and fifth in April.

DISTRICT 80 (48% D - 40% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Julie Bornstein. Republican: Jim Battin. Both of Palm Desert.*

Republicans essentially blew a chance to take on incumbent rookie Bornstein with an effective candidate by waiting for former Assemblywoman Tricia Hunter to make up her mind whether to run. Bornstein narrowly defeated Hunter in 1992 after Hunter's primary opponent softened her up with charges of carpetbagging. For the past two years, Hunter has worked for the Wilson administration while maintaining her ties to the district. In the end, however, she never filed, and Republicans were stuck with Battin, who works off-camera for a local television station and who's not considered a menace.

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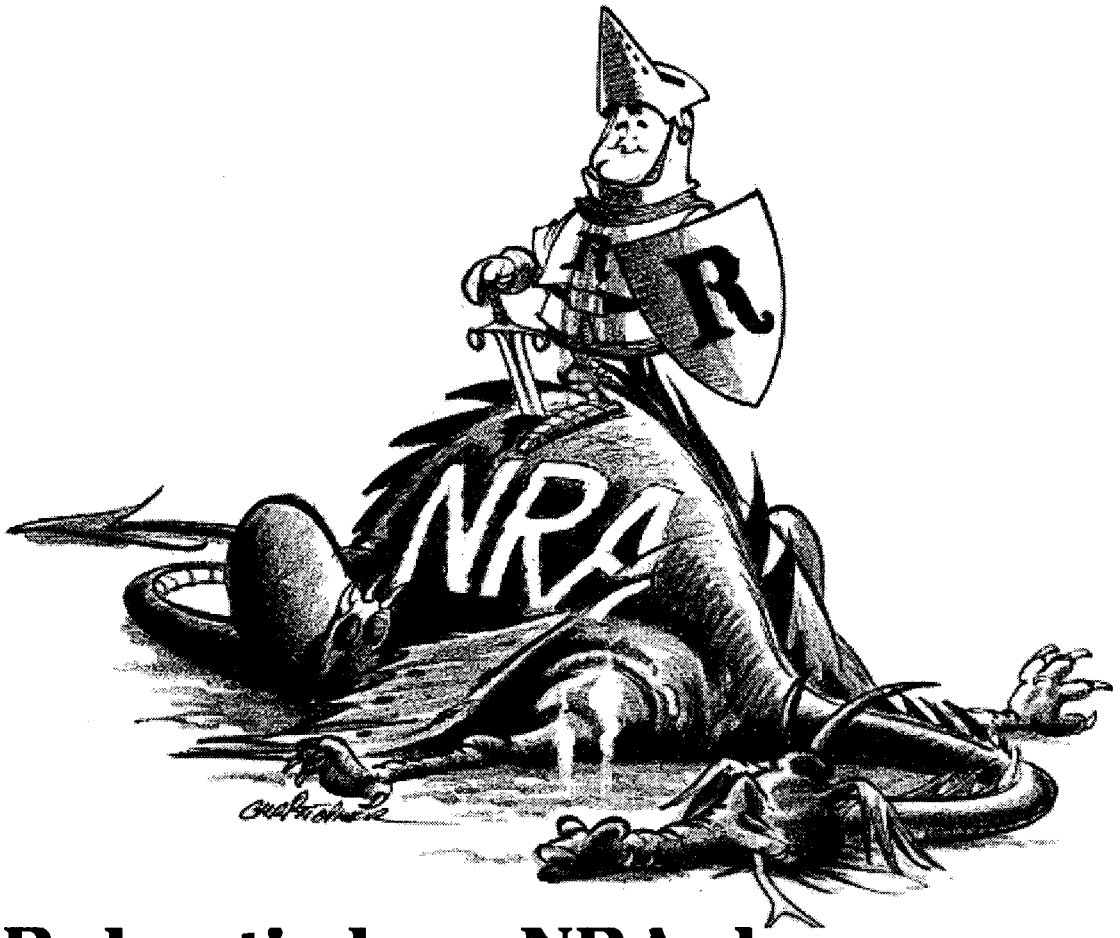

Illustration by Christopher

Roberti slays NRA dragon

Recall victory re-energizes an old warhorse

By Steve Scott

Shortly before the April 12th recall election targeting former Senator President pro Tempore David Roberti, a veteran spin doctor was musing on the recall and the state treasurer's race with a group of reporters. "I think they'll rue the day they started that," he opined, sardonically. "I think he beats [Phil] Angelides [for state treasurer], goes on and wins in November, then, in 4 years, runs for governor. You can thank the old, short-sighted gunners."

No, it wasn't Roberti's main political guru, Clint Reilly. It wasn't even a Democrat. The man so dismissive of the recall campaign was Wayne Johnson, a GOP political consultant whose client list has included the likes of Congressman John Doolittle, ex-state Senator H.L.Richardson, and current state Senator Phil Wyman. In other words, not exactly a "Friend of Dave." Johnson's derisiveness is just one example of broad consensus about the failed bid to unseat Roberti: It was probably the biggest political miscalculation of the year — maybe of the last several.

After a campaign that became a referendum on gun control and the National Rifle Association, Roberti handily turned back the first recall against a sitting legislator in 80 years. When all the votes were tallied, 41 percent of those who went to the polls voted to recall — 59 percent voted against. Roberti beat the recall despite having to deal with the very low turnout that was thought to be the seeds of his undoing.

The victory was not cheap; Roberti had to spend more than $800,000 on the effort. When the dust cleared, however,

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Roberti emerged as the consensus front-runner in his primary campaign for treasurer against former state Democratic Party Chairman Phil Angelides.

"It shows you can vote your conscience, and not your fears, and live another day and be alive politically," said a rejuvenated Roberti the day after his recall victory.

To appreciate the magnitude of Roberti's political rebirth, one need only look back to where he stood before the recall. When 1994 dawned, David Roberti was a tired commodity. Forced to surrender his seat because of term limits, the 14-year pro tem seemed every bit as weakened as his political adversaries thought. Although he himself was never implicated, Roberti's reputation as a leader was tainted by the conviction of three former lieutenants — Senators Joseph Montoya, Alan Robbins, and Paul Carpenter — on corruption charges. His vacillation in deciding where next to take his career made him look indecisive. His delay in turning over the reins of power in the Senate to pro-tem-in-waiting Bill Lockyer made it look like he was holding on to power by his fingernails.

"The beast is wounded," trumpeted an internal political memo written by recall backers, and indeed he was — seemingly an easy mark for the up-and-coming Angelides. Mining contacts from his days as party chair and within the Greek community, Angelides had raised well over $1 million for his effort, and spent the winter and early spring gathering endorsements. While most were from Northern California contacts, Angelides also won the backing of both U.S. Senators Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer, no doubt in return for his efforts on their behalf in 1992. Should Roberti have somehow gotten past Angelides, there then loomed another rising star, Republican Board of Equalization member Matt Fong. When recall supporters announced in early January that they'd submitted more than 45,000 signatures on a recall petition, it seemed only to confirm the fiercely-proud Roberti's depressing slide into political ignominy.

Roberti's fortunes began turning around almost as soon as the recall was certified for the ballot. With the aid of strategist Reilly, Roberti set about turning the recall into "David and Goliath" struggle with the gun lobby. The case was not hard to make. Although they made much of their enlistment of anti-tax and victims rights organizations, the core support for the effort came from pro-gun activists, seeking, in the words of one organizer, "retribution" for Roberti's co-authorship of the state's assault-weapon ban. Defeating the recall became the top priority for national gun-control organizations, bringing to his defense the likes of Sarah and Jim Brady — godparents of the federal Brady Bill. Mother Nature handed Roberti a second issue when much of the 20th Senate District was shaken to its foundations by the January 17th Northridge earthquake. Suddenly, spending *any* taxpayer money on a recall against a man who would be out of office in December anyway seemed wasteful.

By the time the voters headed to the polls last Tuesday, Roberti had raised and spent enough to dwarf his underfunded rivals. The NRA, which had not contributed to the effort, mobilized a last-minute phone calling drive, and affiliate Gun Owners of California sent out a mailer the weekend before the election. It was too little, way too late, however. A huge absentee campaign on Roberti's behalf put him more than two-to-one ahead from the get-go, and the result was really never in doubt.

"Had we been able to match Mr. Roberti dollar for dollar, I think you would have seen a very different result," noted Kevin Washburn, chief strategist for the Coalition to Restore Government Integrity — the umbrella recall campaign. "The thing that money gets you is the ability to hire talent and command resources. That talent is then able to execute the right strategies."

Although Roberti trumpets his victory as a blow to the NRA, the person who likely bears the biggest bruise may be Angelides. Sitting pretty at the beginning of the year with a pile of money and endorsements, Angelides was forced to tread water for much of the spring, waiting for the recall to play out. After a few tentative attacks on Roberti following his announcement, Angelides laid low, knowing that any strikes against Roberti would be viewed among Democrats as a blow for the gun lobby. While Angelides was frozen, however, Roberti was building a statewide, indeed national, reputation as a warrior against the NRA. Angelides could not buy the kind of publicity presented to Roberti for free in one profile on PBS' *MacNeill/Lehrer News Hour.*

"I'm starting from the premise that I'm the underdog," says Angelides. "I'm running against a powerful legislative committee chairman with access to lots of special interest money." Roberti himself concedes the recall has given him "a touch of notoriety," but he insists he is not a one-issue candidate. "Obviously, I'm not going to run for treasurer on guns," he says. "I am going to run on the platform of being a fighter, who is willing to take tough stands on issues I believe in. I'm going to put the lie to the NRA's desire to get rid of me."

Knowing only too well that he's now in a foot race, Angelides wasted no time taking after Roberti on non-gun issues. Chasing Roberti's victory lap around the state, Angelides held his own series of news conferences unveiling a television advertisement, assailing Roberti for "wasting taxpayer money" while serving as Senate pro tem. Angelides also figures to present himself as the candidate in the best position to beat Republican Fong in November. Certainly Fong's forces consider the former party chair to be more formidable. "There can't be any worse title than 'I ran the state Senate for the last 15 years,'" notes Fong consultant Sal Russo of Roberti. "I'd much rather run against somebody that the public thinks they know all about. 'A politician ... I know all about him.'"

Then there is the question of money. The race may have been frozen, but Angelides' fund raising hasn't. Meanwhile, Roberti has been spending as he raises, and enters his second campaign with not a whole lot left over. He does, however, have the advantage of a freshly-used Rolodex, and his willingness to take the NRA flak no doubt will win him many friends in Democratic circles. Even the long endorsement list that Angelides touts so frequently may not help him much, for what Democrat is going to speak too harshly of the man who just whipped the gun lobby.

In short, Angelides has his work cut out for him. The "tired commodity" has been energized, and comes roaring into the home stretch with more momentum than any treasurer's candidate since ... Kathleen Brown. Political analyst Sherry Bebitch-Jeffe says the irony of Roberti's fate is irresistible. "The man was dead, and now he's probably going to be state treasurer ... all thanks to the NRA."

Perhaps no one appreciates the irony better than Roberti himself. "As enemies go," he says with a smile, "I couldn't ask for better ones."

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Washington PERSPECTIVE

By Larry Liebert

Don Edwards

Don Edwards may be the last of a breed in Congress. Or maybe he's one of a kind. He's a passionately committed liberal of the old school. He's also a gentleman of the old world, with a disposition so kind and earnest that you could call him sweet-natured. At the end of this year, the San Jose Democrat will retire from Congress after a 32-year career that has been marked by a relentless commitment to civil liberties and by dedicated duty as the dean of the sometimes fractious, perennially expanding California House delegation.

"THERE ALWAYS REMAINS A LOT OF THINGS THAT remain undone. The challenges here are formidable, especially when you care about issues as much as I do," Edwards said during a recent interview in his office suite, with its imposing view of the Capitol dome. "And so, it's never time. There's so many things to be done. However, I will be 80 years old in January. And I think that has something to do with it. I would just as soon not be here in my 80s."

These days, Edwards cannot see all that well — "I have to do most of my reading by Walkman, books on tape" — but he hopes he will still have time and health enough to travel and enjoy the finer things in life that don't fit a hectic congressional schedule. When Edwards retires, so will his wife, Edie Wilkie, who is executive director of the congressional Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus. "We haven't even had a chance to have a dog," Edwards said ruefully. "We would like to have a dog."

Edwards has championed liberal causes — most notably including civil rights, abortion rights, defendant's rights and the right to privacy — from his seat as chairman of the House Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights. He has been so committed to those causes that he has passed up the opportunities given him by seniority to move up to the chairmanship of a more powerful panel.

Asked to assess the state of civil liberties as he closes his career in Congress, Edward said: "Democratic leadership in a free society is always going to be a difficult problem as the waves of enthusiasm and fanaticism come and go in the country. Generally speaking, I leave the country in better shape than when we arrived. When I ran for office in '62, I came out for recognition of China, for the U.N. I was considered way-left in those days. Came out against the House Un-American Activities Committee. So I was considered pretty far out. I came out for all kinds of civil rights and civil liberties issues. But at that time we had apartheid in 11 or 12 states of the old confederacy. A couple could be arrested for using contraceptives. We had red-baiting all over the place. In many ways, it's a much better nation insofar as civil liberties and civil rights are concerned. It's a very free country. You can say what you want to."

But Edwards, again true to his increasingly unfashionable liberalism, laments that Americans lack the determination to rescue a lost generation that is being raised in poverty and despair: "I'm terribly disappointed in the fact that we have not taken care of a lot of people in this country. It's obscene that we allow children to be unsupervised and running the streets and buying guns. We have millions of people that we don't look after, and no other country would accept this.... It's been very difficult to recover after 12 years of Reagan and Bush. Reagan was a very effective conservative leader, and he made being cold-hearted virtuous.... Government has to step in and help out."

Edwards grew up Republican. Although he was the son of conservative Christian Scientists, he said, "Even as a child, I was a Republican but I was a liberal. I thought a lot of the things that they were telling me didn't make too much sense — such as, if you ever smoke a cigarette you're going to be an evil little boy. And all their strict ideas toward sex and everything. I think I've always been a liberal. I was a liberal FBI agent. I was a liberal in the Navy. I was a liberal businessman; I had profit-sharing. I started a title insurance company in 1950 that became the largest independent company in California."

In his role as the chairman of the California delegation, Edwards has had to bridge — or at least paper over — vast ideological and regional divides. A conservative Republican from Orange County seems to have little in common with a liberal Democrat from San Francisco. But Edwards said members have learned to work together on earthquake aid, reimbursement for the costs of illegal immigrants and other issues "where California interests are concerned and there are dollars and cents" at stake. Edwards added, however, that he has had to "raise hell" behind the scenes when Californians have lapsed into squabbling over projects of importance to the state.

"It just seemed to me when I was first chairman, 15 years ago, that every time a reporter, usually from the *LA Times* or *Chronicle*, didn't have anything to do, they would talk about the fractious, uncooperative California delegation," Edwards said. "I made up my mind, we're not going to see those damned articles anymore. And we haven't seen them."

EDWARDS ACKNOWLEDGES THAT HE IS MORE LIBeral the district he represents, "but I think they trust me, or at least 62 or 63 percent of them do. They know I level with them." Although he is known for a staff that keeps a careful eye on constituent problems and concerns, Edwards does not share the conviction among so many of his colleagues these days that their highest calling is to rush back to the district each weekend to cultivate the grass roots.

"The members have so much money to travel with that they all live at home," Edwards said. "And it's become very difficult to run the institution — to have caucuses, to get a quorum at your subcommittees, to spend evenings together, to have some kind of a social life here with your members. When I came here in '63, we only had three trips home a year, so everybody settled down to do their work. And we worked four or five days a week and we had a lot of give-and-take and communication. And I miss that. You just don't find members around here except in a very hurried two or three days each week, looking at their watch to go home. And going home is wonderful, but the work's here. We're getting paid to be here."

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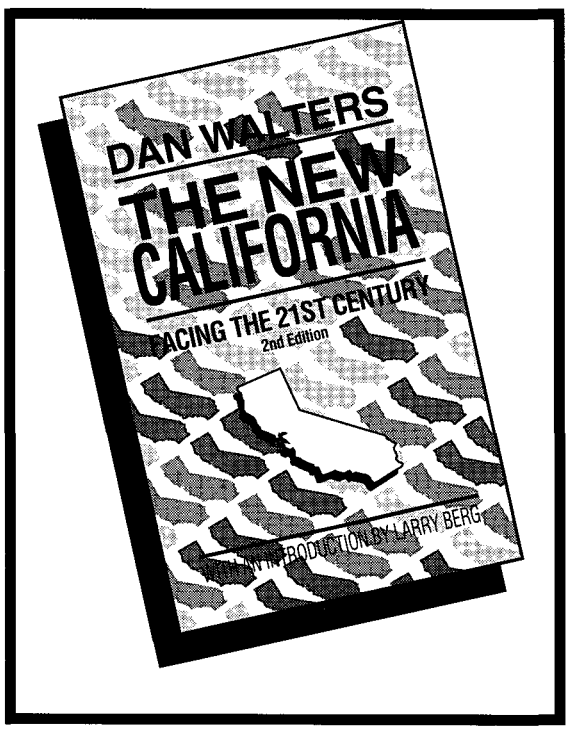

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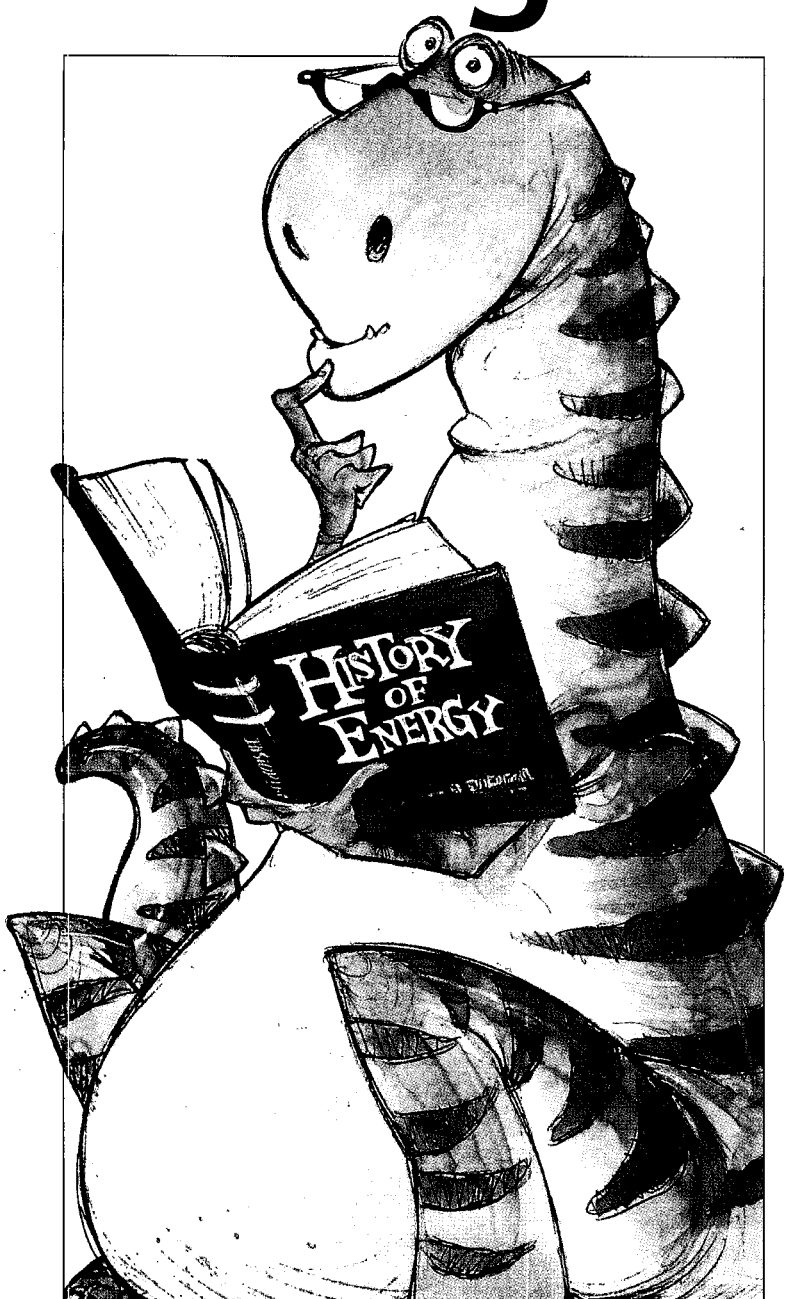

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